

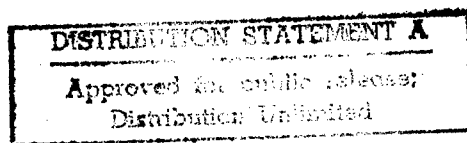
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23 January 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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23 January 1984

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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YUGOSLAVS REPORT ON ROMANIAN CONSUMER GOODS SITUATION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by Milan Bekic: "Fall in 'Little Paris'"]

[Text] Bucharest has been referred to as "little Paris" since time immemorial. A bit overambitious, but not altogether unfounded. It would make a young Romanian laugh, since "little Paris" is associated with the long-gone age of royalty, but someone older will even take it as flattery. It will brighten the patina of the baroque and rococo which the custodians of the old architecture maintain alongside the buildings of the Intercontinental and the new concrete-aluminum building complexes.

With its "arch of triumph" and champs Elysees, broad avenues and rows of trees in autumn colors, its unusually clean streets and the markets rebuilt since the earthquake, Romania's capital is pleasant to any visitor.

The Romanian liveliness, the lightheartedness of youth, the shop windows of the department stores overflowing with goods in a rather abundant, if not excessive assortment, the throng of people in the markets, and peddlers selling things, lively traffic and the subway--all of this puts a particular stamp on the Romanian capital with its population of 2.5 million....

"Little Paris" does not have its "La Fayette" or a bistro like those on Montmartre, nor the Folies Bergeres, Pigalle or the Eiffel Tower, but it does have the immense edifice Scinteia in the style of the towers in Moscow. It has something of all that, including night life, which is adapted to local realities. The restaurants and bars are open until late in the night, but last week the customers were still sitting on the outdoor terraces.

The unusually warm summer and dry fall were welcome to those who like to spend their time sitting outside, but they also brought power headaches to Romania. One out of every five street lamps was lit on the squares and boulevards, and the same in stores and hotel rooms, and the newspapers and television (just as in our own country) issued appeals for maximum conservation. Drivers of Dacias (the Romanian Renault-12), of Volgas and of Moskviches are also very thrifty. The monthly issue of coupons fluctuates between 20 and 60 liters of gasoline, depending on the horsepower of the engine, the vehicle owner's occupation, and certainly the available quantities of fuel. The

large reserves of its own petroleum and ever smaller imports (accompanied by increased exports) are not sufficient for the ever longer lines of vehicles and the plants of the petrochemical industry. Arrhythmia is felt in the pulse of the traffic, there has still not been an infarct, but there is a keen fear of that kind of attack.

Neighboring and friendly Romania is the same as Yugoslavia in its area and population. In its "petroleum city" Ploiesti it produces and refines the bulk of its 12 million tons of petroleum, extracts about 30 billion cubic meters of gas, mines about 40 million tons of coal and annually produces about 70 billion kwh of electric power. All of this is insufficient for the modern industry, for export and for stable supply of the domestic market. The Romanians, just like the peoples of many countries in the world, are feeling the energy crunch, and--like it or not--they are adapting to realities.

They are working things out and not dramatizing them, they are driving and working as well as they can and they are not living worse than many of their neighbors. Perhaps even better than some.

With average earnings of 2,400 leus a month (averages and statistics usually tell us little, and that often in a distorted mirror), by and large they get by. For many it is not easy, but they still make it. With subsidized rents and cheap municipal services and utilities, with the full employment characteristic of the countries of "real socialism"--there are no luxuries, but "everything" is procured. Because of the dry summer it was not a particularly good farming year, but the markets in Bucharest are full of fruit and vegetables, and the peddlers are forward in offering their produce on the sidewalks as well. A kilogram of apples 5 leus, pears 6, tomatoes 11, potatoes 4 to 8.... In the department stores the better shirts are 160 leus, a man's suit 600 to 1,000, in the private boutiques the prices are twice as high or three times as high, but those who have more money do buy in them. In the crammed windows of food stores there is a rich selection of canned goods, fruit beverages and alcoholic beverages: from "Russian" vodka to Albanian (and even French) cognac, and domestic, Bulgarian, Hungarian or Georgian wines. The prices vary, but a black-and-white television set is between 2,000 and 4,000 leus. There was no crowd or the lines customary in the east where a clerk will try to persuade you to buy a Soviet wristwatch, a hand-made wool vest, cheap leather gloves or a suitcase, Cuban rum or a can of lemon drink (limunika).... Aside from the gray and cheap sausages, which are sold hot off the grill on the sidewalk, there is no meat and no meat products either in the markets or in the butcher shops. The hosts are frank in saying: it is available only occasionally, and then usually viscera, heads or legs.

Given the relatively low yields in this farming year, livestock raising fell off the most, and most of what there is goes to foreign markets. Certainly this is felt in the domestic butcher shops and menus, but not in the hotels. Present-day Romania's principal motto "Export and Survive" puts its imprint on the country's entire life. In debt like the peoples of many countries, our northeastern neighbors are carrying this load successfully, they are tightening their belt, but they are going forward. For the first time this year, they say with satisfaction, they have recorded a surplus in visible

trade with the Western countries. They are exporting farm products, petrochemical and other manufactured goods, some petroleum, coal and aluminum, but also the products of machinebuilding, such as petroleum drilling rigs and pumps, which are produced by the industrial colossus "May Day" in Ploiesti. While showing Mika Spiljak, chairman of the SFRY State Presidency, through the plants of that factory, which employs 15,000 workers, the host last week said with satisfaction that they are exporting their machines to 30 countries in the world, Yugoslavia among them. Since they have introduced work incentives, productivity, they say, has risen appreciably, and monthly earnings have gone as high as 3,200 leus.

Measures of that kind are being introduced gradually throughout the economy, and thanks to them and the freer "small business sector" Romanians are awaiting a quiet renaissance: a fresh flow of blood in the economy, higher earnings, more goods of better quality and better supply of the market. They feel that they can live on 2,400 or 3,200 leus (at the official rate a dollar is worth 13.45 leus, but at the rate of exchange in Vrsac or Timisoara, we were told, it is three times as high), but modestly and sensibly. If they want more and a better quality, it is clear to everyone, they must also work more and change many things. There is no alternative....

When a few days ago it rose out of the morning mist and when the rays of autumn sunshine illuminated the variegated spectrum of its rows of trees and refurbished facades, present-day Bucharest--though it may have too little of the Western glitter and quite a bit of the Balkan atmosphere--still reminds one of a "little Paris," as Europeans once called it.

7045

CSO: 2800/117

HORACEK URGES SVAZARM TO DEFEND 'PEACEFUL LIFE'

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 48, 1983 p 3

/Interview by Jaroslav Hejkal with the chairman of the Svazarm Central Committee, General Lieutenant PhDr Vaclav Horacek/

/Text/ Only a few days remain before the opening of the Seventh All-State Congress of the Union for Cooperation with the Army. On this occasion, we asked "Comrade Horacek for an interview. "

/Question/ The activity of your organization is quite extensive and varied. What is its main mission?

/Answer/ Svazarm has always considered its principal mission to be assistance to the CPCZ to implement the defense policy of the socialist state systematically, and share in guaranteeing the defense needs of the country. Its work consists primarily of mass defense education of citizens, carried out on class and internationalist foundations on behalf of the Czechoslovak People's Army. The preparedness of conscripts and reservists in the spirit of contemporary military needs remains our priority task.

/Question/ How do you go about preparing conscripts in your organization?

/Answer/ Each year, about 180,000 young men pass through the voluntary defense training course of Svazarm, which is about 90 percent of servicemen-to-be. In line with the requirements of the Defense Ministry, Svazarm's share in the training of technical specialists which has reached about 45 percent of the total number, and is still growing. In the training centers for conscripts we train not only military drivers but also radio and radiolocator operators, as well as other specialists whose professionalism is closely linked with mastering the most modern military technology. In the course of the educational and training process, the future soldiers acquaint themselves with the physical foundations of different functions, with their combat application, and with the maintenance of modern war equipment. However, they gain not only basic knowledge of military technology, various



skills and a proper approach to technology; they also firm up their awareness that it is, above all, a morally and politically mature soldier who represents the decisive factor in the defense of socialism.

/Question/ Excuse me, comrade chairman, but it is my impression that the moral, political and physical preparation of recruits cannot be solely the affair of Svazarm, but also of other social organizations.

/Answer/ I naturally agree, for we have organizations, such as the Socialist Youth Union /SSM/ or the Czechslovak Union of Physical Education /CSTV/, which have a clearly delineated mission and a much broader influence on the education of young people because they apply it long before the young become conscripts. Consequently, we strive for close and purposeful cooperation with these organizations in truly partnerlike, rather than competitive, relations. Svazarm's specialty is precisely defense education and cooperation with the army.

/Question/ Nevertheless, Svazarm's doors are open even to younger boys and girls, and I believe there are many of these, is it not so?

/Answer/ You are absolutely right. Of the total number of Svazarm members, about 170,000, or slightly over 17 percent, are under the age of 15. This does not, of course, mean that we are infringing on the jurisdiction of the SSM or CSTV, even though I admit that in some places and cases it is unfortunately understood as such. We, however, are interested in attracting young people long before they become conscripts, since this allows for more systematic and better quality education. We must also remember that current demands on recruits in terms of, for example, scientific and technological preparedness, are much higher than in the past, and will undoubtedly grow. Consequently, they logically require an intensification of the educational process, which is unthinkable without work with youth at a lower age. For this reason, Svazarm richly develops the natural interests of different youth strata in technology and the latest scientific and technological discoveries in practical application.

/Question/ Can you give us an example?

/Answer/ One of the directions we have set for ourselves at the 10th Plenum of our Central Committee in October of last year is the development of polytechnic education, aimed primarily at young people of pre-military age. In the course of special interest technical defense training, we try purposefully to clarify for the young people technical and technological phenomena, processes and principles, along with the mastering of practical skills and usages. I want to emphasize that we are primarily concerned with the formation of the proper attitude of the youth toward technology, since it plays an increasingly important role not only in questions of national defense but also in the present and future peaceful life of our society. Even today, it is clear that it is primarily the human and not only the technical aspects of the process of contemporary

scientific and technological changes which will decide the results of our future social and economic development. This is why we consider it an important social task to contribute in every possible way to the development of scientific and technological thinking among our citizens, quite naturally, especially the young.

/Question/ I recall that this posture of yours has recently been commended in an independent session of the Chamber of People when scientific and technological progress was discussed, is it not so?

/Answer/ I am happy to note that research by the deputies, which was part of the preparation for that particular session, confirmed the extensive activity of our organization in this sphere as well. Especially gratifying is the support of our efforts to create conditions for work with youth in a progressive specialty, which electronics certainly is. Indeed, we consider advances in electronics to be of long-term significance. For this reason, our Seventh Congress will deal with concepts of work in the sphere of electronics under Svazarm auspices. Consistent fulfillment of this task will, no doubt, stand in the forefront of our attention in the future.

/Question/ What specific concrete conditions do you have in mind?

/Answer/ I start with the belief that young people will continue to come to us, influenced by the earlier educational impact of their schools and youth union organizations. We are also aware that we will achieve better results in our work if we manage to maintain and firm up continuity in the educational process. This will, of course, require an intensification of cooperation at all levels with schools and youth union organizations, and creation of conditions for Svazarm organizations to work directly in higher, secondary and specialized schools. We will also strive for joint use of assets, technology, equipment and cadres, on the basis of mutual agreements or an integrated effort, aimed at scientific and technological education of our youth. We consider this approach very urgent in a situation where there are still problems in material and technological sufficiency, be it shortages of spare parts, premises, or necessary measuring instruments. We simply see our way in a more effective and targeted utilization of the capabilities of Svazarm, the schools, pioneer, youth and other facilities. Also important is the question of suitable cadres. Even though we have a large, dedicated aktiv, even though we strongly focus on the training of leaders and specialists in working with the young, we must say candidly that even here we want to rely more on assistance from all other organs and institutions which are involved in the education of the young generation.

/Question/ Comrade chairman, there are, of course, people who would argue that, on the one hand, you speak of the effort to contribute to

progressive peaceful development in our country and, on the other, you say that the priority task of your organization is the training of military conscripts and reservists in the spirit of contemporary military doctrine. Do you not see a conflict in this? How would you answer such people?

/Answer/ First, I see no conflict here. Yes, we are struggling for peace, we wish to preserve and strengthen it. However, the United States and its allies intend to achieve military superiority, with the ultimate aim of liquidating socialism in the world. Toward these intentions, they misuse the results of the scientific and technological revolution, and their armament progress and projects of weapons systems, based on new physical foundations, represent an increasingly real threat not only to world peace but to the future of mankind. In this connection I should note, for example, the extensive modernization program of the American strategic nuclear forces, the Rogers plan for improving conventional arms and, finally, the plans to deploy military satellites in space, as announced by president Reagan in March of this year under the name "High Frontier." There is only one answer to all these efforts: high care and guarantee for a coalition defense of socialism within the countries of the Warsaw Pact, headed by the Soviet Union. In other words, if we wish to struggle consistently for peace, we must respect the principles of equity, balance of forces, which is an objective law. Therefore, our Czechoslovak Army is also equipped with the most modern combat instruments, high technology weapons systems and computerized systems of management and command. Their effective utilization levies increasingly higher demands on scientific and technological knowledge and thinking of not only members of the armed forces but also all other citizens, especially the young generation. Naturally, it is not enough merely to defend peaceful life; indeed, the future of modern humanity is linked with progressive forms of production and penetration of new scientific and technological findings into everyday use. Therefore, logically, we not only wish to contribute to the defense of our socialist society, but also to its further progressive development.

9496

CSO: 2400/145

MINISTER DISCUSSES CULTURAL TRENDS SINCE 'LIBERATION'

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1983 pp 8-14

[Article by Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education: "Main Cultural Trends Since the Liberation"; an abridged version of the author's lecture at a theoretical conference on Hungarian history]

[Text] The title of my lecture indicates that what I want to discuss on this occasion is not cultural policy, but primarily the cultural processes that have taken place since 1945. Meaning culture in its broad sense that includes science and art or, in other words, the fruits of intellectual effort, the activity of the institutions that disseminate them, and the system of values and system of ideas that determine behavior and the way of life.

1. If we examine from this point of view Hungarian cultural history since 1945, a period of more than 3.5 decades, then it can be said--and here I come to the dialectics of continuity and interruption--that certain processes within culture emphasize the continuity, but by no means insignificant are also the processes which indicate that changes associated with socialism's renewal were necessary. This should be pointed out also in context with culture because the conservative attack that is unfolding in the world against Marxism, and also against existing socialism of course, is attempting to prove that the live sources of theory and practice have become exhausted, and that socialism is unable to renew itself and to create a new culture. Naturally, we encounter such views not only abroad but also at home, and I think that an objective review of the cultural processes that have taken place since the liberation will refute this notion.

Which are the permanent characteristics of our culture that prove continuity?

--The effort to make culture democratic, which also defines the creative processes.

--The dissemination of great values and useful knowledge, which characterizes the activity of the system of institutions.

--Recognition of the social significance of science, literature and the arts, and their government support.

--Finally, recognition of essential relations between culture and socialism, and hence the ideological orientation of cultural life.

I would like to emphasize that cultural policy has not simply adopted these objectives. Rather, they have been characteristic also of the cultural workers' views, based not merely on the principles of Marxism or of building socialism, but on Hungarian culture's traditional commitment as well. For if we examine the cultural processes, continuity did not begin in 1945. And we will do well to bear this in mind because it would be a mistake to automatically transfer also to cultural development the break that occurred in the economy and within society after 1945.

And if now I consider the way to answer the question concerning culture's permanent tasks, I must admit that there is a pronounced difference in this respect, specifically between two major periods. It is common knowledge that dogmatic policy caused great harm in cultural life by wanting to use culture, and mainly present-day culture, for the purposes of day-to-day politics, by regarding the social sciences, literature and the arts as the handmaidens of politics. This terminated their relative independence and hampered their development. Policy after 1956 took into consideration the peculiarities of culture and, from the viewpoint of its functions, it ranked as most important the strategic objectives of building socialism. This meant a decisive change in creative activity, which has gained greater freedom for the performance of its particular tasks.

So far as the dissemination of culture is concerned, here the situation is more contradictory. In the early 1950's the extensive dissemination of great values and useful knowledge not only was an objective but was also achieved, particularly the spreading of classical values and of the scientific world outlook's elements. At the same time certain progressive scientific and artistic trends were muzzled, especially from 20th century culture. The situation here is paradoxical because the classical values contained contradictions from the viewpoint of ideology, and dogmatic policy took cognizance of this so far as the past was concerned. Here it employed the hypothesis of "realism's victory," which unquestionably proved useful in the dissemination of culture but came into conflict sooner or later with the demand for the uniformization of ideology. Incidentally, this also proves that the cultural problems of the post-1949 period must not be simplified.

After 1956, in the dissemination of cultural values the door swung wide open for the trends of not only the past but of the 20th century as well, and even for their debatable values. All this modernized Hungarian society's culture, and its image of culture.

From the viewpoint of reception, special mention must be made of mass culture. Here cultural policy in the early 1950's wanted to rely partially on peasant, and partially on revolutionary or working-class traditions that the masses regarded as outdated, even though in some respects these traditions could be considered as live sources. At the same time there evolved a schematic entertainment industry that imbued everything with politics and attempted to modernize the various products of old bourgeois entertainment.

All the forms of earlier Hungarian entertainment gradually gained ground after 1956, and Western fashions spread. It must be established that in neither period was the question of socialist cultural entertainment solved.

Concerning reception, there was a significant change in the approach to the public's appraisal. Prior to 1956, cultural policy perceived the image of a uniform public: the requirements of the various strata were regarded, if not entirely, then at least more or less identical, and cultural policy set its objectives and chose its methods accordingly. After 1956 we recognized that the public was differentiated, and that therefore the requirements to be met varied considerably.

All these changes raise the following question: Even if certain permanent factors have survived that mostly determine the functions of culture, have not the contents and forms previously associated with these permanent forms become relative? No doubt the situation today is essentially more complicated than 25 or 30 years ago, when definite trends represented socialist culture. If someone today wishes to find his bearings in Hungarian cultural life, he will have difficulty identifying the principal trends that characterize Hungarian culture, perhaps also because certain spectacular superficial phenomena conceal these principal trends. For this very reason it is worth looking deeper. Before 1956, the scientific schools that were labeled as Marxist, and the trends that were regarded as socialist realism, seemed to have gained hegemony. Even then, of course, this was merely an illusion. Those few years that created a sense of complete harmony were unable to banish the trends that evolved in Hungarian cultural life over decades and even centuries. And here I again wish to call attention to the fact that in culture we must consider not the short term but the long term, otherwise we will not be able to understand many phenomena that still exist in Hungary even today. The suppressed trends surfaced after 1956 and simultaneously new ones emerged, most of them within Marxism. Thus our cultural life today is characterized by diversity, ideologically as well as professionally.

And if now we consider the process of continuity, interruption and renewal from the viewpoint of the individual major spheres of activity, we may say the following:

2. Regarding the position of the natural sciences in Hungarian cultural life, it can be established that since 1945 policy has never questioned their significance, especially from the viewpoint of developing the economy. In the dogmatic period, therefore, the natural sciences enjoyed a privileged position so far as consideration of their peculiarities was concerned. Biology, and computer technology with cybernetics were the two exceptions where dogmatic policy intervened for ideological reasons. In this situation the representatives of the natural sciences willingly investigated also ideological questions, and not necessarily in the spirit of dogmatic policy. For when Lajos Janossy, Karoly Novobaczky or Tibor Erdey-Gruz--and we could go on and on listing the names of other scientists--investigated the theoretical questions of the natural sciences, they did not start out simply from the considerations of day-to-day politics, but from the fundamentals of dialectic materialism.

During the past two and a half to three decades, knowledge and research have advanced also in the basic sciences, while the requirement of practice has asserted itself specifically and extensively in the applied sciences. This has produced large-scale development, although there continues to be much debate on the usefulness and utilization of the research results. However, the fact that

today the representatives of the natural sciences are less interested in the philosophical questions with which the world is preoccupied does create a problem. Let me cite an example. The philosophical and political interpretation of some of the results in biology, genetics or ethology have been debated for a fairly long time in Western Europe and America. We do get some information about these debates, but not in a way that engages the attention of our intellectuals. If we examine what the theoretical foundation is of the ideological reconstruction that is taking place in Western Europe and the United States, we can easily establish that it uses primarily certain results in biology, partially to emphasize the differences between individuals, and partially to prove that a hierarchical society is natural and necessary.

Of course, the natural sciences are not the only area where we should deplore the lack of interest in philosophical questions. In the 1970's our entire cultural life has been stripped of ideology to a large extent, and the mentioned phenomenon is merely a manifestation of this fact.

So far as the social sciences are concerned, in this respect I wish to emphasize the interruption between the two periods. Even if I do admit--as the great experience of my generation--that the encounter with Marxism after 1945 was decisive in this area. Among young writers, artists and social scientists one hears that this encounter did not really enrich, because what we became acquainted with was dogmatic Marxism. First of all, we became acquainted with Marx, Engels and Lenin, and not only with Stalin. Let us add that the Marxism of Lukacs, Revai or Erik Molnar was not barren, inspite of its dogmatic features. For the social sciences the encounter with Marxism meant a new approach and new methods. The hypercriticism in this respect today is entirely unhistorical and one-sided. Of course, it is an entirely different matter how the social sciences treated after this encounter the questions of society and of the individual. By placing these sciences--particularly economic science, sociology (its independent status not even recognized), government and law sciences, historical science or literary science--in the service of day-to-day political and ideological tasks, policy actually deprived them of the momentum that began with the discovery of the new approach. In spite of this, many outstanding works survived this period and influenced further development.

Here the interruption after 1956 meant that policy recognized the relative autonomy of science and freed research, emphasizing its social responsibility. I believe we may justifiably say that in many areas the social sciences experienced their renaissance in Hungary during the past two decades: they investigated present reality and the great historical trends; and with an objectivity unprecedented in Hungarian intellectual life, they not only made discoveries, but in several areas also contributed toward the renewal and reformation of our work. This is true of economic science that has played an important role in exploring the economic situation and in developing the system of economic management. Sociology rid itself of a brief period's speculative trend and has been investigating increasingly society's real problems. Historical science extended its activity to cover the entire Hungarian past; it has placed domestic history in an international frame of reference; and it has initiated a new economic history, social history, and cultural history. We could go on listing the results of also the other social sciences as proof of renewal.

Our social sciences participated in the ideological debates that were taking place in Hungarian cultural life, especially in the 1960's. Science too is "subject" to history, and it is only natural that some of its standpoints might undergo modification. This is true of the documents on populist writers, nationalism, the Lukacs question, etc. After 1956, ideological clarification was necessary to enable us to advance further. We did not initiate debate just for the sake of debate; we did so, and I emphasize, for the sake of advancing further. The further course of the populist writers, Gyorgy Lukacs's party affiliation and late works--and I could go on listing various other, similar processes--proved that this ideological clarification did no harm; to the contrary, it was useful. At the same time it must be admitted that these documents contained also exaggerated, unfair or one-sided statements that can justifiably be criticized. But the historical context must not be disregarded even in this criticism, because otherwise we would be in error regarding the functions of ideology.

In the social sciences the confrontation of ideas has been relegated into the background during the past decade, often in the sense that the necessary conclusions have not been drawn from the new results, and therefore also the public could not be informed. For example, the fact that Hungarian historical science has been unable to exert sufficiently broad influence, in spite of its results, is related to the reluctance of some representatives of this science to generalize and to draw theoretical conclusions; but it is related also to our inability to find a way to disseminate the new results and the ideas associated with them. If a book offering new facts were to appear in the West on, say, the 17th and 18th century history of a small langue d'oc village, it would be absurd to imagine that political writers would not discuss it. In our country such political writing has died out, and even book reviews are rare. This of course affects television and radio broadcasting as well; our mass media are unable to popularize even what we do have, because it escapes their attention. I think that certain conclusions should be drawn from this even for the Marxist education. I am not saying that every Marxist educator should be also a political writer, although that too would not be a bad thing. What I am saying is that it is necessary to learn about the fresh results and to disseminate them, by word of mouth as well as in writing. In general, the new results are slow to spread into education; the production time of textbooks is 15 to 20 years. We cannot wait that long with the dissemination of a new approach and of new ideas.

In a sense the social sciences occupy a privileged position in the Hungarian world. Their privilege is their ability, in spite of all their weaknesses, to reflect a more realistic view of society and of history than what we encounter in some branches of art. I do not wish to draw contrasts between various intellectual activities, but I admit that they exist and do not think that we should be ashamed of them. In any case this nation has an incredibly great need of realism in a situation conducive to the rapid spreading of trends based merely on emotions, or of irrational or even mystical trends.

3. In literature and the arts the main trend in both periods was realism, in its different interpretations and versions. This is so not because some sort of dogmatically interpreted socialist realism was forced upon the writers and artists, but because it followed from Hungarian literature and art's perception



of their own role that they had to develop in the direction of realism. The dogmatic perception of socialist realism, which narrowed the concept of realism itself and barred the revolutionary vanguard from cultural life, unquestionably harmed the development of literature and the arts, but it was not decisive because there appeared even in this period a long list of works by Dery, Illyes, Peter Veres and others, works that are of value even today.

After 1956 there appeared in our literary and artistic life all the trends that had been relegated to the background in the past, and we started to become acquainted with various foreign trends, and to some extent also to imitate or develop them further. Until the end of the 1960's it seemed that the realistic trends would be the dominant. Let us recall that one after another there appeared the works by Illyes, Laszlo Nemeth, Darvas, Cseres, Fejes and others that dealt with the great questions of Hungarian life and of the past and had a truly cathartic effect. Poetry underwent its renewal at that time, and its development was marked by such names as Istvan Vas, Ferenc Juhasz, Laszlo Nagy, Mihaly Vaci and others. I could list also the films, those of Jancso, Andras Kovacs and others, which likewise pointed in this direction. These were also works intended for the general public and hence were of a democratic nature.

The past decade has produced a change in this respect, and we must take cognizance of it. Today three principal trends can be distinguished in art:

--One is the trend of reminiscence. It manifests itself not only in memoirs, but also in that the one-time vanguard painters are returning to their old experiments, to the trends of the 1920's and 1930's.

--Another trend is documentarism that is present in every branch of art. It focuses attention on everyday reality, often in a very naturalistic manner.

--The third trend is experimentation with language and form and seeks internal artistic renewal.

Lately we find that young people are attracted to the last two of the mentioned trends. Documentarism, which wants to be critical of history and of society, is gaining ground. There is repoliticization mostly in literature, particularly in political writing also in conjunction with the question of national minorities, and it is causing a conflict not only with policy but with socialism as well.

In this situation the critics and, I might add, also the workshops are rather uninformed; for them this repoliticization is unexpected, because socioeconomic conditions have not necessarily induced this phenomenon. We are able to trace already earlier the dissatisfaction that a part of literature fostered toward policy for the latter's alleged failure to take adequately into consideration the requirements of morality or equality in the treatment of the social phenomena accompanying economic development. However, this reaction was not necessarily triggered by political practice; many subjective factors contributed to its emergence. In any case, we must now confront, in literature and the other humanities, the views that are provoking not only ideological but also political debate; and we must provide ideologically substantiated answers, relying on the experience with building socialism and taking into consideration also the ideological aspects of international class struggle.

Not only these phenomena, but also the present state and further development of education and culture--in other words, the reception of culture--warrant this emphasis on ideological content. Especially important here is the cause of mass culture. In cultural policy the problems of reception have long been relegated into the background. Now also political and ideological reasons compel us to examine these problems more thoroughly, and this will be one of our main concerns in the coming year.

In this context the Mexico conference of cultural ministers raised the question of the relationship between consumer culture and national identity. It will be advisable also for us to consider this question. The popularization of scientific results and the dissemination of great values are already a part of developing socialist mass culture. Due to the changing living and working conditions and particularly to the increase in leisure time, however, the cause of everyday culture and especially of entertaining culture has shifting increasingly to the forefront of attention. But the question is what are its content and forms. Cultural policy has not considered this topic comprehensively; or if it did, it was satisfied merely with expressing pious wishes and allowed more or less spontaneous processes to develop. This is how the fashions of old, bourgeois consumer culture have been revived, and this is how Western fashions are spreading today. Will further advances in telecommunication lead to where an entirely uniform international consumer culture influences the ideological and emotional world of the people and their way of life? I think that also as a result of technological progress we must confront the question of what socialist mass culture, and within it entertainment, should mean.

I have listed several features of cultural development, primarily from the viewpoint of the emitters and receivers of culture, and I have merely touched on the questions of cultural policy. Our cultural policy should accept diversity but must not adopt a liberal attitude; with ideas and with moral and financial support it is able to influence creative activities, and even more so the reception of culture, the directions and sphere of its reception. We must know what kind of culture we want to disseminate among the wide masses; what are the ideological, moral and esthetic characteristics of that culture; and how and by what means to deliver good culture to the various strata. At the same time we must know how to inform, debate and organize. In other words, we need a theoretically substantiated, active and comprehensive cultural policy if we want culture to become an integral part of building a new society, and to influence people with its values and ideas.

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PROVINCIAL REPORTS-ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN NOTED

Task Fulfillment Noted in Party

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 8 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Roman Sensmecki]

[Text] This crew has not failed to fulfill its tasks in any year, whether in the years of the establishment of Polish forestry at the Warmia and Mazury regions shortly after the liberation or in the recent years. The latter also have been extremely difficult as the national social, economic and political crises were intertwined with an unusual series of forestry disasters, according to Wladyslaw Kedziora, incumbent party secretary, who read the organization's report at the reports-elections meeting of the POP [basic party organization] at the Stara Jablonka Forest District Administration. The area has been ravaged twice by strong winds and undergone a massive attack by gypsy moth larvae, shipworms, fungi, flealouse, and scleroderis larvae. Furthermore, the pine nurseries were flooded in the period of drought! Thus, it was necessary to abandon the plan of obtaining wood from the areas selected for that purpose and instead to retrieve wood from fallen trees, or broken branches--dried up, and spoiled by larvae--accumulated in the process of cleaning operations.

Waldemar Rettkowitz, forester, stated angrily: "For the last 40 years we have fulfilled our plans and now we have been allotted one...vacuum cleaner. We did not strike despite the fact that we had to perform our work in the forest in wornout rubber shoes. When are we going to be treated with respect?"

"We are given only a few pairs of socks, and this is considered proper," added another participant.

"We get nothing in terms of allocations, absolutely nothing," stated Jadwiga Rozalska.

"But we have money," emphasized Rettkowitz, who honestly admitted that the central authorities have fulfilled at least one of the demands of the forest crews, namely they significantly increased the remuneration of that professional group.

The above voices do not mean that the meeting was dominated by a consumer attitude. They must be taken as criticism, which is characteristic of people used to honest and often sacrificial work.

The meeting convened on the day when the press announced the extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers devoted to the reasons for the return to rationing of butter and animal fats. The foresters were particularly concerned about the Council of Ministers' appeal (it was interpreted as a request!) to the Supreme Cooperative Council that it review the activities of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the Dairy Cooperatives Union with regard to...etc. How is it that the government asks a firm to perform honestly? People must be honestly evaluated, not begged; if you cannot or do not want to perform properly--goodby.

That attitude, which won applause from nearly everybody, was boldly brought up by Eugeniusz Aftowicz from Biale Blota, chairman of the new forestry workers trade union organization. He stated that at present the strength of the party is not being felt on a daily basis and his feeling is shared by many comrades he meets and debates with. This observation concerns, both the basic level as well as the upper echelons. Times were difficult after the war, but the strength of the party was felt from above and from below; decisions were executed and everybody honored that. That is how the PRL [Polish People's Republic] was built. And now? People are asked to work. The Olsztyn KW [Provincial Committee] secretary talked about dairy workers who were selling bad cheese because the technological process was too difficult for them to follow. The secretary stated that the workers must be counseled about the situation. This is wrong. If you do something wrong or you cannot do it better, you must be replaced. Or let us consider the stores. Their shelves are empty for the most part and yet each has three gruff saleswomen. Some people work hard, while others do nothing. How is this possible?

Zygmunt Paprotny, Ostroda KG [Gmina Committee] first secretary, explained that it is necessary to act in the spirit of the decisions of the 9th Congress and 12th and 13th Central Committee plenums. We are in the middle of an economic reform one of whose elements is independence. Hence, the party or the government cannot return to the old times of ordering around, but they must suggest and convince. They can also act directly through their members employed in enterprises or other institutions. Such a course of action was, by the way, mandated by laws passed after August 1980. It must be finally understood that the strength of the party depends on the strength of its members. This conclusion also referred to Comrade Aftowicz's claim that supposedly neither the KG nor the KW showed any interest in trade unions. "Yes, they would call to ask: How many new members do you have?" angrily stated Aftowicz, "but nobody would come to find out how we were doing and to offer advice."

Briefly, this is how Secretary Paprotny responded: "Quite recently some people warned against 'the party's soiling the unions with their shoes,' because it would be unpopular. The party wants socialist trade unions, but it wants them to be really independent and, in accordance with the statutes and laws, not lead them by the hand. It does not want to solve trade union problems for the union members. This is the course of action for the union activists with regard to securing the basic labor rights of their crews.

"The situation in our sector is so good because sometimes we do not shy away from keeping a tight rein on some people. The crew is generous and conscientious, but in hot moments some do not want to give as much as other coworkers. In other words, some must be called to task in no uncertain terms. The same must be done in other economic units as well," stated Eugeniusz Latkowski, forest administrator.

As we can see, although these people live in the backwoods, they look beyond its present walls, weak and thinned by the winds. Comrade Tyszkiewicz of the Provincial Ideological Indoctrination Center [WOKI] in the Olsztyn KW warned that at present both dogmatic and rightist approaches are dangerous, but let us understand that the party members who live and work in the backwoods try to view things from a simple perspective, which in their opinion makes action more effective. They are hardheads and they demand the same from others!

...A few words about the POP. Once it had 50 members, now it has shrunk to 38, including 8 workers, 20 engineering, technical and office workers, and 10 pensioners. It must be noted that some foresters are members of rural organizations. Calling a meeting is a big transport operation! Although the forest administration consists of 18,000 hectares of forest in a compact area, the distance from one end to another is 40 km of forest roads. By regular roads it would be even more. This is not a plant, where it is enough to post an announcement or make it on the PA system and everybody knows. This characteristic of the forest POPs (all work in the same conditions!) was reflected in the election of the first secretary. During elections to the executive committee (this time consisting of 5 persons instead of 7 in order to meet easier) the greatest number of votes was cast for Wacław Iwanowicz, woodcutter from Białe Blota and a delegate to the Ninth PZPR Congress. He refused to be considered for the position of secretary and explained that he worked in the forest all day, thus making it difficult for him to get away most of the time. He stated that the secretary position requires a comrade who can have daily contacts with people in the field and with the management. Wacław Kieliszek, pensioner, who lives deep in the forest declined as well. Two candidates were left: Krystyna Nycz and Stanisław Potoczny, forest administrator. The latter was elected by majority vote. In addition to the above-mentioned persons, Czesław Malecki was also elected to the executive committee. Once he led the party organization of Stara Jabłonka forestry employees, but he is in poor health now and spends much time in sanatoria; therefore, he also declined to be a candidate for secretary as did the others, not because he wanted to shirk his civic obligations, but because of his high respect for the function and sense of responsibility. I wish to add here that the participants also elected six delegates to the party gmina conference in Ostroda; among them were a forest administrator and a former POP first secretary.

While the report of Comrade Kedzior dealt only perfunctorily with the political aspect of the party committee's 3-year term and focused on production and welfare matters, it must be remembered that in the last dozen or so months the most important professional, civic and political task has been saving the forests. Society at large is not aware of that due to only occasional contacts with the forest, either during vacations or when picking forest goods. In fact, the evidence of that is in the forests: turned up soil after mushroom

hunting and heavy smoke from carelessly driven cars and motorcycles. Hence, Comrade Kedziora limited his report to recalling the POP's suggestions and demands, which were later reported to the Ninth Party Congress by Comrade Iwanowicz. These concerned abolishing differences in benefits between white collar workers (better benefits) and laborers in forests; better utilization of timber by industry; utilization of waste wood; creating storage facilities for logs fallen in water; simplifying documentation and reporting systems; providing woodcutters with simple equipment, including spare parts, as well as indispensable rubber and rubber-felt shoes, and work clothes; improving old and barely moving transport means for transporting people to work stations through replacing them with new cars; providing necessary materials for renovation of forest settlements; and higher wages. Many of these demands have been fulfilled since the congress, although some of them only appear that way or are still in the declarative stage. Great improvement has been noted, however.

Comrade Kedziora also recalled that either the executive committee or the party organization have been resolving, jointly with the management of the forest administration by means of specially established various commissions, many troublesome situations: welfare; housing; renovation of apartments and settlements; bonuses and awards; and distribution of deficit tools and spare parts. However, this was strictly political, because for all practical purposes it dealt with the proper living and working conditions of the crew. Comrade Paprotny complemented the above report with additional information: the party organization in Stare Jablonki is among the best and most numerous in the gmina (even though its members are located in...five gminas). Kedziora named the following as the best employees: woodcutters--Iwanowicz from Biale Blota, Ryszard Wojciechowski and Antoni Korzyb from Gasiory, Jozef Pazdziorka from Ostrowin, Aleksander Zasenski from Jagielki, Herbert and Heinz Theil from Wotulty; and Ryszard Szymanski, shop mechanic from Stare Jablonki. The Ostroda secretary emphasized that there must be more outstanding employees since the auditors from the Armed Forces Inspection had given the forest administration a very good evaluation, and listed the name of Latkowski, forest administrator, on the roster of the best managers of Olsztyn Province enterprises in the aftermath of the provincial audit 1 year ago.

The speech by the forest administrator was among the most interesting at the meeting. He reported on the recently held national conference of forest administrators, POP secretaries, ZZ [trade union] chairmen from four forest regions: Olsztyn, Bialystok, Torun, and Gdansk, which was attended by top management from the ministry with Waldemar Kozlowski, minister. Comrade Latkowski announced future reduction of the overly extended forest administration areas in order to facilitate better management of forests by foresters. Proper action will be taken next year on the occasion of revision of forest organization.

#### All Matters Covered in Registration

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Bogdan Miller]

[Text] The decision to begin the reports-elections campaign was not surprising. Most party organizations and echelons were prepared for it.

Hence, its tempo in our province is considerable. In more than 30 percent of the department and basic organizations such meetings have been already held. therefore, we can offer the first conclusions, which are still general, but also proven at the same time.

First, let us consider the attendance and activity. In some organizations, attendance reached 100 percent, in others it barely exceeded 50 percent. In a few instances, meetings had to be rescheduled due to lack of a quorum. As to activity, it differs from one organization to another. However, regardless of the number of speeches, their content reflects authentic concern for the welfare of the party and the well-understood interests of their own enterprise. Of course, everyday rather than internal party matters dominate for the most part: functioning of the trade and services in the country; and lack of agricultural machines and spare parts for them.

In the process of transformations taking place in the party the reports-elections campaign plays an unusually important role. After all, the effect of the party discussion is supposed to be an evaluation and summary of the last 2-year term. The renewal, the culminating moment of which was the Ninth Party Congress and its decisions, which also delineated the directions of PZPR functioning, has required and still requires from party people a total involvement, activeness, passion and spontaneous desire for action. Have all who were entrusted, then or later, by us with functions in organizing party life, passed that examination and fulfilled our expectations?

Judging from the signals coming in from regional centers, it appears that in some organizations as much as half of the cadre, that is, first secretaries and executive committee members, have been replaced.

Soon after the campaign ends we will have elections to the Sejm and people's councils. As a party we must be ready for them with people who have proven themselves and who have unblemished reputation. After all, the statutory requirement of moral and professional purity of PZPR members has never been abrogated.

An important element in the discussions carried out today involved the conclusions from the resolutions of the 12th and 13 Central Committee plenums. They find their reflection in resolutions passed now. This shows that the ideological problems have not died with the conclusion of the debate at the central level and that they have been included in the register of matters in which the party is involved and which give the party its Marxist-Leninist character.

Thus far we can congratulate the Kiwity and Lukoc gmina party committees on their completion of the campaign at the basic level.

## Party Debates During Campaign

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 9 Nov 83 pp 1,3

[Article by meh., (tes), (mat), and (BA)]

[Text] The reports-elections meetings in the party basic organizations [POP] in Bydgoszcz, Torun, and Wloclawek provinces, will be completed soon. Now the phase of enterprise conferences begins. It was inaugurated yesterday by the PZPR organizations in the Janikow Sodium Manufacturing Enterprise and Kujawy Cement-Lime Combine in Barcin.

At the Janikow Sodium Manufacturing Enterprise, the conference began with a nice motion of honoring the merited party activists with commemorative medals of 100 years of the Polish labor movement and congratulatory letters from the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee]. This act was performed by Henryk Bednarski, Bydgoszcz KW first secretary and member of the Janikow enterprise party organization. He also presented PZPR candidate cards to four comrades, recommended by the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] circle at the Salt Packaging Department. Zygmunt Tylicki, vice governor, decorated several comrades with "For Special Contributions to the Development of Bydgoszcz Province" badges of merit, which had been awarded to them by the presidium of the WRN [Provincial People's Council].

The report, given by Andrzej Szczutkowski, first secretary of the PZPR factory committee [KZ], was followed by a lively discussion in which even guests participated, including the following: Brig Gen Piotr Szweda, deputy commander, Pomeranian Military District; Col Edward Rutkiewicz, deputy chief of the WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs]; Zygmunt Tylicki, deputy governor; and Marian Skowyrski, undersecretary of the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industries.

The following were elected delegates to the PZPR provincial conference: Henryk Bednarski, KW first secretary and member of the Maintenance Department party organization [OOP]; and two foremen--Bogdan Parada and Kazimierz Ruta.

In his speech, Bednarski discussed the current political situation in the province and the tasks of the party in view of that situation as well as commenting on several issues brought up in the discussion.

A new KZ leadership was elected with Andrzej Szczutkowski being reelected first secretary.

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A PZPR reports-elections conference on the Kujawy Cement-Lime Combine convened yesterday in Piechcin. The general discussion and deliberations of working teams focused on internal party problems, economic matters and the crew's working and living conditions. Many speakers noted poor attendance at POP meetings. It was proposed that labor productivity be visibly linked with pay raises. Comrades were disturbed by the constant introduction of new



economic decisions because their abruptness hampers the implementation of the economic reform. Criticisms were directed, among others, at examples of poor management in the enterprise, inadequate fulfillment of housing demand, lack of medical care, etc.

Conclusions from the discussion enriched the activity program of the enterprise party organization for the next term. The participants issued an appeal for peace in the world and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with differing political systems.

The conference elected the enterprise committee, led again by Wojciech Gralik, as well as the audit and control commissions, and 43 delegates to the city-gmina reports-elections conference. At the same time four comrades were elected delegates to the provincial conference; they were: Jan Blaszak; Stefan Firszt; and Achim Puczkarski, all combine employees; and Zenon Zmudzinski, KW PZPR secretary in Bydgoszcz and member of the combine party organization.

In Torun Province, the reports-elections campaign at present covers mainly party groups. Until now, meetings have taken place in approximately 400 groups out of 732 in existence with attendance reaching 60-100 percent. Nearly one-third of the group leader posts were entrusted to new comrades, and, for example, at the ELANA enterprise in Torun the "change of the guard" affected 50 percent of the group leaders. This testifies to the critical attitude of group members toward their activities and to the emergence of new activists as there seems to be no lack of candidates for party positions. The group meetings, particularly in Torun, testify to the great seriousness of discussion as well as to bold and realistic dealing with difficult problems. During the campaign, 20 new party groups have been established in the province.

The main intensity of the campaign in the OOP and POP will be observed this and next week, while the largest enterprise organizations will hold their meetings at the end of November and in early December. Out of 1,235 OOP and POP, 230 have held the meetings and elected new leaderships. Attendance was quite varied--from 52 to 100 percent, the number of discussion participants, however, ranged from 20 to 100 percent. Most meetings were held by the rural POP organizations, where discussions focused on the need to develop and strengthen the party in this environment and to demand high moral and ideological level from candidates. The internal party problems were emphasized, among others, in Golub-Dobrzyn, Chelmno, Wapielsk, Unislaw, and Papow Biskupi. The problems of supplies for the rural trade network, housing and the struggle with the phenomena of social pathology were discussed as well. At the meeting of the party organization of the GS [Rural Commune Cooperative] in Wielka Nieszawka it was decided to build a store in Nieszawka Mala as a community project in joint effort with its residents.

In Torun, the discussions at reports-elections meetings focused on the problems encountered in the enterprises and in domestic trade. For example, at ELANA Synthetic Fibers Mill criticisms were leveled at the process of implementation of the economic reform and at the wage structure in the enterprise, and anxiety was expressed over projected price increases for

foodstuffs. The circumstances and the methods of the restoration of rationing of butter and animal fats--and particularly erroneous explanations in the media in advance of these actions--met with negative reactions.

A POP meeting meriting attention was held at the National Dispatch Service Enterprise [PSK]. The members of a small organization--embracing approximately 20 percent of the crew--had an interesting discussion covering both party and economic problems. Among others, they criticized the method of assigning party tasks, which in their opinion ought to be applied to all POP members; and this demand was reflected in the resolution at the end of the meeting. It also contained a statement that the party members at PSK ought to mobilize the crew to more productive performance on an everyday basis and to develop activities aiming at building up the ranks of their party organization. One of the issues discussed was the reform, whose effective implementation, according to the discussants, is hampered by the enterprise employees being informed too slowly about corrections being introduced.

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In the city party organization at Aleksandrow Kujawski the reports-elections meetings have been held in 16 out of 46 POP.

A few days ago the past term was summed up at the Rural Transport Cooperative [STW]. There the discussion focused on the realization of instructions given by the POP executive committee with regard to the improvement of the crew's living conditions and benefits. This is a problem which has been on the agenda for a long time as the majority of STW employees work outside. At the POP's initiative a new facility for the STW chapter is to be built in Aleksandrow Kujawski along with radical improvement of working conditions for the workers of the dispatch services. Comrades from the Aleksandrow Kujawski STW also called for systematic evaluation of party members active in civic organizations and local elective administrative bodies. Czeslaw Derus was reelected first secretary of the POP.

During the meeting of the POP organization at the Polish State Railroads [PKP] branch in Aleksandrow Kujawski, the most heated debate concerned party discipline and the need to strengthen it. Statements were made that the past term had not been distinguished by increased importance of POP undertakings. It is necessary to strengthen the force of action and to make people believe that it is the party's role to solve successfully the crew's problems. This concerns also the work with nonparty employees, the best of whom, in terms of professional performance and great trust in them, ought to be recruited to the PZPR. Wlodzimierz Kalinowski was reelected the first secretary of POP.

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At the reports-elections meeting at the Diversified Services Cooperative in Tuchola an attempt was made to come up with the most effective methods of work for the POP within the cooperative structure. It was emphasized that further good work of the POP is predicated on total discipline within the party (exemplified by, among others, attendance and participation of all POP

members at meetings) and on consistent evaluation of people on their performance of assigned party tasks. It was considered very important to evaluate POP members active in civic organizations outside the enterprise. A decision was made to call more open party meetings in which nonparty employees could participate. Some discussants referred to the resolutions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, among others, with regard to the constitutional freedoms of speech and conscience and cases of their violations by some social groups. The participants evaluated economic performance of the cooperative. It is very good; despite big problems with raw materials the yearly plan will be exceeded. Considerable economic effects are brought by consistent realization of the savings program. Discussants also noted hard working conditions and the need for, among others, the construction of facilities for the crew, including a club house. The lack of a trade union organization in the enterprise was noted as a deficiency.

Ryszard Mezydla was reelected first secretary of the POP.

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The crew of the PKP branch in Laskowice (Bydgoszcz Province) constitutes a rather sizable--approximately 1,000 strong--worker group among the rural population in this gmina. Therefore, the discussion at the reports-elections conference focused not only on the problems concerning the enterprise, but also problems concerning the place of residence of its crew. In the context of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee it was decided that the knowledge hitherto transmitted at party training sessions was not current enough. Therefore, it was decided that in the future ideological and training activity must prepare party members in advance to their function to popularize the party program and decisions. Many speakers focused on working conditions and benefits; criticisms were expressed about, for example, the poor quality of special high-calorie meals. Discussion participants negatively viewed the organization of the trade network in the gmina and postulated construction of a new shopping pavillion for the benefit of the local population. According to party members, the District Directorate of State Railroads [DOKP] in Gdansk show insufficient interest in their facility.

Mieczyslaw Kruczkowski was elected first secretary of the POP.

#### Krakow Plenum on Party Activities

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 10 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by K. Cielenkiewicz]

[Text] What is and what should be the role of the party in Krakow Village? The participants of the yesterday's plenum of the PZPR KK [Krakow Committee], which was devoted to the problem of "Party Work in the Village," tried to find an answer to this question. The meeting was chaired by Jozef Gajewicz, KK first secretary, who greeted the participants, who included, among others, Hieronim Kubiak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo; Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; members of the PZPR Central

Committee, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission], and CKR [Central Audit Commission], and Krakow Province deputies to the Sejm-PZPR members.

The meeting was also attended by Wladyslaw Cabaj, chairman of the ZSL KK; Apolinary Kozub, chairman of the Krakow RN [People's Council], and Tadeusz Salwa, mayor of Krakow.

"We are meeting today as the socioeconomic cadre, which has a tremendous impact on the problem of food supplies. In order to enrich our discussions we invited 24 secretaries of the best performing rural POP. We all know the complexity of the problems encountered by the agricultural economy. We know the deficiencies and material restraints hampering the growth of agriculture, but we also know that there are barriers created by certain attitudes. Many things could have been changed, corrected and improved if the demands, criticisms and often correct claims were followed by the desire of active involvement and partylike concern for our economy. The most important question we ask ourselves today is: What is the place of the party in Krakow Village?" This is how Jozef Gregorczyk, secretary of the KK PZPR, began reading the report of the KK PZPR executive committee.

Some party organizations in the village are weak, small, and lacking substantial political strength, but there are also party organizations in our province which understand political work as a complex of specific activities in response to farmers' requests. At the initiative of these POP, many important and necessary constructions have been accomplished and improvements made in organization of procurement and distribution of equipment and building materials--this is another excerpt from the above report and the expressed thesis was completely proven by discussion that followed.

The sociopolitical situation in the village is undergoing gradual stabilization. This is due, among others, to the legislative work of our parliament: bills on combining arable lands and their improvement; on protection of arable and forest lands, and on civic-professional organizations of farmers. Equally important in this matter was the resolution of the joint 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL NK [Supreme Committee] and in particular its confirmation of the durability of the individual family farm.

Concrete actions were also taken in the Krakow Province which included the following, among others: a joint resolution of the KK PZPR executive committee, KK ZSL presidium, and KK SD on services for agriculture; and more than 12 months ago a joint plenum of the KK PZPR and KK ZSL was held to discuss agriculture and food economy.

And yet, despite these activities, it appears that the rural community, taught by years of inconsistent agricultural policy, views current actions with justified scepticism. In this situation, the tasks of PZPR members are clearly defined, because it is they who should and can have a persuasive role in convincing the farmer that the decisions taken are a durable element of perspectivist and stable state agricultural policy.

It was also emphasized that a good farmer who is a party member, by his farm management, concern for his own village, involvement in civic activities and

understanding of the aims of party and state policies, is the best example for his environment. To be a good example is a task for 11,400 full and candidate PZPR members, active in 496 rural POP of our province. But it should be kept in mind that in 77 villages--that is, 13.5 percent of all villages--there are no party organizations. Why is this so? Answer: a farmer is a practical person. He is persuaded by concrete, real and positive actions. In that lies the fundamental instruction for party work in the village and the key to POP activeness as well as to the growth of party ranks.

Krakow Province's arable lands are among the best in the country in terms of soil quality, but 86.8 percent of these lands are individual farms of very disadvantageous size structure, because 55 percent of those do not exceed 2 hectares. The number of small farms--as it was noted in the plenum--makes it difficult to intensify agricultural production, or to efficiently utilize equipment, which is in good supply in Krakow Province in comparison with the rest of the country. Therefore, specific remedial actions are being taken such as, for example, full utilization of arable lands on farms and control of proper utilization of arable lands, etc.

Harvest was another topic of yesterday's discussion. For example, in the last 7 years the yield of grains from 1 hectare has averaged 27 quintals and of potatoes, 176 quintals. Considering the quality of the soil in our province, the results are poor, as was acknowledged at the meeting. Also, concern was expressed over considerable drop in production of vegetables in favor of increased production of flowers, which brings financial benefits to flower growers, but at the same time precludes the satisfaction of social demand. Likewise, a similar tendency has been observed in livestock breeding as a result of the lack of fodder.

And yet, production growth has also been noted, for example, in production of four major grains, rapeseed and sugar beets. Unfortunately, the growth was smaller than it could have been, mainly due to the imperfect structure of farms, lack of labor force in agriculture and insufficient technical support, which is often geared to small farms. It was suggested that in the case of these small farms, which have high quality soil, Krakow Province agriculture turn toward specialized production.

Much time was devoted to the methods of work of the party and youth organizations and ideological and training activities, and the role of teachers in it as well as their attitudes.

The following was one of the conclusions, contained in the report of the executive committee and coinciding with the view of farmers expressed at the plenum: there are values and features of the Polish village which must be cultivated--attachment to the soil, the biggest workshop; sensitivity to empty words and unfulfilled promises; respect for the working people, and patriotism; these are values on which the united forces of progress in our country can build and which they can trust. However, there are also characteristics which must be combated: belligerence, selfishness, often low level of professional and civic education, and, sometimes, laziness as well.

Many conclusions and theses resulting from the plenum found their place in the report mentioned above. However, a few voices merit our attention. Stanislaw Rzepka of the KMG [City-Rural Commune Committee] in Wieliczka argued with a statement that party organizations in the village are weak. In his opinion, this is only partly true. For there has been no initiative in the village in which party members would not have been actively involved. The community can see that and respects it. He admitted that the organizational functioning of many POP is not so good; meetings are held irregularly, etc. He suggested drafting a model of party activity in the village which would take into account the specificity of the environment. Jadwiga Nowakowska talked about the role of party members active in agricultural self-government. She postulated maintaining the dependence of profits on production costs. In this context, she pointed out the standard of living in the village and the material dismemberment of the rural community. Edward Bieniek from Pcim said that farmers read the policy and stability and credibility of the authorities from the store shelves, availability of means of production, etc. He also talked about unprofitable hog breeding and recalled that a farmer is used to checking production with a pencil and paper and that he will not go for losing from 1,000 to 4,500 zlotys per animal due to current fodder prices. Jan Krosta from Rudno Wielkie talked about the differences in party work in the city and in the village: in the village, people work all day in the fields and on the farm. How can they come to a meeting? And on top of that, farms are far from each other; sometimes it may even require 3 days to get everybody for a meeting! Roland Krupinski from Zabierzow shared the following thought: we cannot talk about the weakness of party members in the village, but only about the organizational weakness of the party in that environment. And that is something else. Also, it must be understood that a party membership in the city and in the village are two different things. In the city, after the meeting one can lose himself in the anonymous crowd, but that is impossible in the village. Jan Siekierski from the Agricultural Academy stated that we cannot expect any success in the village until we are capable of reducing to a minimum our errors in agricultural policy. Jozef Pabian made the following comment about worker-farmer solidarity: both the worker and the farm are united by the work performed by their own hands and not by somebody else's. Stanislaw Kucala from Wola Radziszowska stated that the authorities must keep their word; this is an opinion of not just our POP, but of the entire village as well. He also mentioned the problem of 40 hectares of idle land owned by the UJ [Jagiellonian University], and demanded that such practices, which cause unjust shame to all party members in his village, be discontinued. Jozef Murzyn from Wisniowas talked about properly understood cooperation with the ZSL, which ought to be based on complementing each other's activities and not on ambitious competition. He also brought up the matter of aiding young farmers, starting on their own farms.

Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, emphasized the need to win allies for the realization of the program of agricultural development. We have in the Polish village 200,000 farmer-PZPR members, including 100,000 in the State Farms [PGR], which is a large army of members in agricultural service, health care, education and administration. We must get together and act honestly to bring specific results. In the light of these

statistics our strength in the village looks different after all, he stated turning later to the main tasks of party work in that environment. On the matter of production profitability, he stated: I believe that it is preserved at average production levels. Those who get poor results cannot expect our support against economic sense. With regard to food prices he stated: nobody can expect--and this truth must reach everybody--that when procurement prices rise, the prices of foodstuffs on store shelves will remain unchanged. This is an economic rule, practiced everywhere in the world, of which we are an integral part and not an isolated island. Cattle breeding and meat supplies were among topics discussed at the meeting and Michalek commented on them as well: the improvement of the market is predicated on the growth of national plant production, which is given preference at this time. More fodder means more meat, stated the Central Committee secretary. He also devoted much time in his speech to the problems of equality of all sectors in agriculture and to activities aimed at maintaining stable agricultural policy.

The participants passed a KK PZPR resolution on party work in the village and one of its paragraphs reads as follows: "The plenum states that the success and effectiveness of political work in the village depend in the main on long-term and correct agricultural policy."

During the organizational part of the meeting Wladyslaw Kaczmarek, KK PZPR secretary, reminded the participants about the goals of the reports-elections campaign in the PZPR and reported on its current course and main contents of already held OOP and POP meetings. He also presented a suggestion of the KK executive committee that, in accordance with the temporary election rules approved by the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the elections of delegates to the Krakow reports-elections conference should be based on the rule of 1 delegate per 200 PZPR members. In accordance with this proposal, approved by vote of the KK plenum participants, the Krakow conference will be attended by 335 delegates. The date of the conference, approved by vote as well, was determined as 28 January 1984.

The meeting was concluded by the singing of the Internationale.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Recommendations From Party Meetings

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 28 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Wodecki]

[Text] At many meetings of basic party organizations [POP], as well as at meetings with representatives of the higher echelons, particularly the leadership of our party, one often hears complaints about the dearth of information in the PZPR. These complaints center on the recommendations and observations made during the reports-program campaign in late 1982 and early 1983.

I am not surprised at these critical remarks; we have the sad experiences of the campaign before the Eighth PZPR Congress. At that time dozens of sensible, well-considered recommendations and critical remarks of low-level party organizations ended up in drawers, only to appear a short time later with demands from the factory cells of Solidarity. In many cases, these demands were nothing but the recommendations made earlier by POPs.

It must be admitted that the party has drawn conclusions from this. Probably never before in the history of the PZPR have party organizations received such an amount of informational material, in addition to periodicals, various kinds of brochures containing facts and accounts of events, and commentaries. Particularly active in this endeavor is the Information Department of the PZPR Central Committee, which regularly issues exhaustive materials discussing various problems and answering questions of concern to party members, as well as more extensive studies on topical political subjects.

How these materials are used is another matter. I am afraid that in many party organizations they are filed in the desks of the POP secretaries, where they quietly wait for one of the rank-and-file members of the PZPR to come and ask if there is anything interesting to read. The truth is that if anyone really wants to know what is happening in connection with a particular matter, he can find an answer to every question by consulting the literature prepared by the highest party echelon.

This is by way of introduction to another matter, which should be brought to the attention of the members of the Gdansk and Elblag provincial party



organizations, especially those members who submitted their proposals and observations during the reports-program campaign of 1982-1983. Now, in June 1983 the individual committees and departments of the PZPR Central Committee completed their work on preparation of a response to the recommendations made during the campaign. This was an enormous task, because the entire report comprises several hundred typed pages in six hefty volumes. These materials will be distributed among the rank-and-file members of the PZPR and the basic organizations. At any rate, the Intraparty Commission of the Central Committee has committed its Organizational Department to this. The recommendation also stipulates that every author of a proposal will receive a reply.

Let us present at least some of the proposals, especially those that are recorded as having originated in Gdansk and Elblag. One caution here: some PZPR members will surely be disappointed that they have formulated their proposals differently or that they have not worked out one at all. And indeed they will be right, but they should remember that the report in question must necessarily be very generalized. Thus, it does not state that such and such a proposal was made by Kowalski from OOP-3 [departmental party organization] in the shipyard, only that it came from Gdansk. The organizations in Gdansk and Elblag are only part of the PZPR.

For the reasons mentioned above, I shall cite certain proposals from other provincial party organizations, since I believe they will be of interest to all readers.

The first volume of the report is devoted to proposals concerning intraparty members. It contains 25 subject categories and over 1,000 replies to proposals. In category III, for example, the majority of provincial party organizations made recommendations (formulated differently, of course) about the need for frequent contacts between members of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, as well as between members of the government administration and low-level organizations. The response to these types of proposals is broad, specifying where each of the Politburo members has been recently. We know this anyway from the press, and I think that Deputy Premier Rakowski's last meeting in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk can serve as the classic example of implementation of this proposal. I quote the following excerpt from the lengthy reply: "The Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee adopted the proposal of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, that the members of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat and the directors and assistant directors of the Central Committee departments spend at least 1 day a week on tour." Furthermore: "...in order to utilize fully the proposals and views presented at meetings with members of the party leadership, the Central Committee Secretariat in November 1982 passed resolutions directed toward their implementation."

In the chapter, "The System of Consultation in the Party and Society," besides proposals from many other provincial organizations, there are also two proposals from Gdansk and Elblag for expanding the system of social consultations. In a reply covering several pages of the document, which also cites examples of consultations held during the past few months, we find the following statement: "The first National Council of Activist Workers in the

history of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] (30 March 1983) was an important element in the system of social consultation. In this system, the party devotes special attention to the voices of workers in all key economic and policy matters." The conclusion explains that "we intend to give legal standing to social consultations. For this purpose the Sejm committees have already begun work on the draft of the law."

I believe that these statements are a sufficiently clear response to the doubts of the party's rank-and-file members. And although the public may feel otherwise, the very fact that this matter was brought to the Sejm so that consultations could be given the highest standing--that of law--suffices to show the efforts of the party leadership to avoid decisions that might surprise the general public. A legal norm now prevails, or very soon will prevail, in place of the good or bad intentions of some officials. This is also a classic example of the PZPR's inspirational role in our country.

The next group of proposals, also from Gdansk and Elblag, concerns the amount of party dues and the percentage left at the disposal of the POP. The explanation is lengthy, and many elements of it are known from practice; I shall, therefore, cite only the following: "In terms of the average salary in the country in 1982, party dues comprises scarcely 0.4 percent of this remuneration."

Other parts of the report on the implementation of proposals speak of the need to limit the party bureaucracy, that is, to eliminate unnecessary reports and other documents. They also discuss a number of other problems connected with the functioning of the party, e.g., the subordination of POP's to echelons of the first degree, the organizational structure in enterprises with many plants, the system of monitoring in the party, etc. Many proposals pertain to the party apparatus--its labor regulations, salaries and employment after resignation from the party apparatus.

In regard to this set of problems it should be mentioned that the "Code for the Party's Political Workers" and the "Labor Regulations for Party Workers" are currently in preparation. Their implementation depends on completion of work on the principles of personnel policy in the PZPR. Note that many proposals from provincial organizations concern increasing the number of full-time workers in echelons, factory committees and so forth. I think I should mention here a sentence from the reply to a proposal from Legnica, that the position of KZ [factory committee] secretary for ideological affairs be established in every workplace. The explanation is lengthy and ends with the statement that "in view of the party's limited budget, implementation of the proposal is not feasible." There is a similar reply to a proposal from Nowy Sacz regarding a pay raise for workers in the party apparatus.

Unfortunately, in a brief report many explanations must be omitted, although they are extremely important for the functioning of the party and the level of its ideological commitment. However, I cannot refrain from mentioning two statements contained in replies, since they say much about our party's course and what it demands from its members. Many provincial organizations submitted proposals saying that after a long period of membership in the party its

members ought to receive state awards, letters of commendation and the like. The suggestions varied.

And here are the replies: "...many PZPR members receive state awards in consideration of a favorable assessment of their work. If the above proposal (from Katowice) were to include a request for a 'PZPR membership card' granting party members certain privileges or preferences, this would be politically improper." In another place, in a reply to a similar but differently worded proposal, we read that "the principle of granting state awards only for reasons of organizational affiliation and party membership is improper. Candidates for state awards must fulfill generally known conditions--significant achievements in professional work and social activity. The statute does not provide for the status of 'honorable member of the party.' Introduction of the title or status of 'honorable member of the party' would violate Leninist principles for the building and activity of a Marxist-Leninist type of party, whose basis is the principle of party membership defined in Point 1 of the statute."

I would also like to say that it is regrettable these documents will not reach all PZPR members (as well as people who are not party members), since they are a fine explanation of the party's policy, of its leading role in our society, and of the PZPR's policy in various spheres of our life. They also confirm the most important conclusion--that the party has learned a lesson from the sad experiences of the recent past, a lesson it is consistently trying to implement. Much in this area depends on us too, the rank-and-file members of the PZPR.

#### Suwalki Party Meeting on Private Construction

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 28 Sep 83 p 2

[Article by jn]

[Text] The executive board of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee], which met yesterday in Suwalki, assessed this summer's recreation program for children and adolescents and discussed the situation in private housing construction.

Over 40,000 children and adolescents took part in the summer recreation program. In addition, 52,000 from other provinces spent time in Suwalki Province, a considerably larger number than last year. The majority of the camps were of a specialized nature (sailing, dialect study, Esperanto, etc.). The TPD [Society of the Friends of Children] health camps were better organized. During intensive fieldwork the institutions and organizations of agriculture, together with the educational authorities, established 17 kindergartens for children living in the countryside. It was difficult, however, to transport the children to these centers. Workplaces, particularly small ones, showed less interest in children's recreation, entrusting this to travel agencies, which in turn bore the costs. More youngsters went on vacation in the socialist countries, including 600 who went to the GDR.

In comparison with last year, the costs of a stay in a recreation center increased. The preparation of buildings and grounds was generally in

accordance with regulations. Safety and hygienic conditions were satisfactory. Violations discovered during sanitary inspections were corrected promptly. The shortage of sanitary and medical personnel was less severe than a year ago. The ideological education program was implemented in most of the centers, with varying results. Certain shortcomings could be observed.

It was emphasized that in the future, recreation should be combined more often with work for the benefit of the milieu. A concrete plan must also be worked out for establishment of local camps. It is advisable that a single authority be in charge of the funds allocated for summer recreation. In order to facilitate exchange between localities, meetings should be held with program organizers before the season begins. The goal is to ensure places for the children of workers in small enterprises, which have few resources to pay additional money for participants in recreation programs.

During the first half of this year, Suwalki companies engaged in construction of private housing completed 112 apartments with an area of over 12,000 square meters, i.e., less than 18 percent of the annual plan. In 16 centers, 20-40 percent of the plan was fulfilled; in 18 centers no results were achieved at all.

A shortage of materials is delaying the completion of buildings. Most serious is a lack of roofing and wall materials, which is not being remedied by local production. It sometimes happens that materials are sold in contravention of the order on the list of planned construction.

There was also a failure to implement the executive board's March recommendations on prevention of waste and inefficiency and which allocated a larger quantity of materials for the needs of housing construction in rural areas.

It was decided that an administrative organ should be established to coordinate construction of single-family housing. This organ would have a voice in all problems connected with this field. More materials ought to be allocated for construction in rural areas. It is also necessary to catalog and popularize standard housing designs suited to local conditions. These designs should take into account the possibility of utilizing available local materials in construction. Attention was called to the need for workplaces to assist teams of workers engaged in building single-family houses.

#### Current Party Organizational Tasks

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 29 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Article by ZG]

[Text] At meetings, much attention is being given now to intraparty problems: organization of ideological indoctrination, the activity of members of social and self-government organizations, and the performance of individual tasks. Discussion is continuing on the draft of new principles for calculating party dues and on political tasks before the reports-election campaign. Among the topics concerning the general public, the projected increase in the prices of certain food articles is the main topic of party discussions.

At the same time, echelons and organizations are actively engaged in solving local problems. Assessments are being made of the implementation of economic tasks and savings programs, the work of social services in workplaces, and the supplying of goods to personnel in the fall and winter.

Housing needs are considerable everywhere, but the important thing is to make use of opportunities to build more apartments. There are such opportunities in Gozdnica, thanks to the availability of local building materials and vacant land for single-family housing. Therefore, at the initiative of the PZPR city and factory committee, a social founding committee has been elected for a housing cooperative. At present, the only construction company in the city is Ceramika. The cooperative has opportunities and conditions for expanding construction of both public and single-family housing.

Expansion of housing construction was discussed by Krosien Odrzanski during a meeting of the first secretary and the head of the KMig [city and gmina committee] with the managers of local enterprises. A proposal was submitted to them regarding a joint construction project in which the main participants would be the Hardboard Plant and Kromet. Pooling of resources from the factory funds will permit quick construction of a 40-family apartment building.

The executive board of the KMig in Sulechow is making regular assessments of the implementation of the 3-year housing program. The main contractor--the Enterprise for Agricultural Construction--is completing projects according to plan. Two more buildings are scheduled for completion before the end of the year. Nor are there serious obstacles to construction of an additional 305 apartments in the city next year.

Implementation of economic reform is the focus of the party's attention. We have both good and bad examples in factories here. Organizational and technological conditions for expansion, reduction in cost and improvement in quality of production are not always utilized. This was one of the topics at a session of the party KZ at the Dozamet Lower Silesia Metallurgical Works in Nowosolsk. Production quotas are being met; there is no danger that the annual plan will not be fulfilled. It is disturbing to note, however, the wage increases constantly exceed productivity. The principles of self-management activity in enterprises are still little known and understood by the mass of workers. Therefore, the management has been asked to hold instructional meetings, which must especially include the party cadre and mid-level supervisors.

The party organization at the POM [State Agricultural Machine Station] in Swiebodzin favorably assessed the management's efforts to increase managerial efficiency. A decrease in the level of employment, together with better organization of work and a general reduction in costs, contributed to successful implementation of tasks and to a higher profit margin. However, there are still internal reserves whose use will make it possible to increase efficiency even more.

At a public party meeting held at the PKP [Polish State Railways] station in Sulechow, the topics of discussion included the living conditions of the work

force, trade union activity and organizational deficiencies in the functioning of the station. It was considered very important to establish a cultural and educational center for the local railway workers and to enable them to use its services right in Sulechow, which would eliminate the difficult commute to Poznan.

The activity of party members in workers self-management bodies was discussed by the executive board of the KZ at the Eskord Technical Weaving Industry Works in Ilowa Zaganska. It was found that certain problems undertaken by self-management bodies are not discussed with the workers, nor are they brought up at party meetings. It also happens that matters which are the responsibility of the trade union are undertaken by the self-management bodies. The decisions of the latter are not always carried out by the management, which cannot justify its dilatoriness in resolving many of the plant's problems. Party members in self-management bodies were obligated to look after workers' interests and to become involved in systematic implementation of the principles of economic reform.

#### Gdansk Plenum On Economizing

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30 Sep 83 pp 1,2

[Text] Assessment of the implementation of the savings and anti-inflation programs in Gdansk Province in 1983 was the subject of yesterday's plenum of the PZPR KW. The meeting was conducted by Stanislaw Beijger, deputy member of the Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR KW in Gdansk. Participating in the plenum were: Ryszard Hutterski, deputy director of the Central Committee Economic Department, and Vice Minister Jerzy Pidgorski, government representative for implementation of the savings and anti-inflation programs.

The executive board's report evaluating the implementation of the savings and anti-inflation programs and discussing the tasks of party organizations in this field was given by Leon Brancewicz, KW secretary.

Afterward the participants in the plenum commenced a discussion.

Jozef Sowinski, first secretary of the PZPR KZ in the PLO [Polish Ocean Lines], described the shipowner's difficult situation caused by the world recession, the sanctions against Poland, and the economic crisis in our country. Because of these various factors, passenger shipping is running a deficit. The enterprise needs support, but not a handout, since its influence on the country's balance of payments is still significant. This year, for example, the PLO will gain \$40 million in currency surplus and save about \$80 million more in freight expenses. For those would be the costs if the goods that it transports had to be carried on foreign vessels. During the 1970s the PLO earned \$2.6 billion and 35 billion zlotys for our country.

The enterprise is unable to extricate itself from its present difficulties through its own efforts, and requires assistance in the form of systemic regulation within the framework of national economic policy.

Jan Wojciech, vice governor of Gdansk Province, discussed the activities of provincial authorities directed toward more efficient use of land, manpower, energy and water, as well as steps taken to make better use of reclaimed raw products and wastes. In many fields, the results of these efforts are already evident. For example, revision of plans for development projects has made it possible to obtain a large, well-developed tract for housing construction.

Because of limited manpower, 300 retirees were rehired and 1,200 people who had previously shirked employment were sent to work. However, there is a disturbingly high rate of absenteeism in Gdansk Province enterprises. It is estimated that this year every worker will be absent from his job for about a month, exclusive of vacation time.

Some progress has been made in conserving energy and water and in storing agricultural products. A major problem to be resolved is the use of industrial wastes (phosphogypsum, ash), of which there are more than 1 million tons in the province.

Stanislaw Bogdziewicz, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] at Bimet Slide Bearing Works, spoke of the difficulties of putting the new department for production of slide bearings into operation. However, this department, which has modern assembly lines, should be ready in the fourth quarter of this year. The goal of the savings program at Bimet is to save 42 million zlotys' worth of raw materials, energy and fuel over a 3-year period. Implementation of this program is going well; the results of savings can already be seen in many sectors.

Czeslaw Ostrowski, head of the District Inspectorate of Energy Usage, gave many examples of a recent increase in industrial energy consumption. This has occurred at the Gdansk Prefabricated Housing Plant and at Polmo in Tczew. The plan for reducing industrial energy consumption in Gdansk Province is quite ambitious, but it is not being implemented well everywhere.

Zbigniew Jarecki, first secretary of the PZPR KG in Zukow, said that the enterprises in his gmina want to effect a savings equivalent to 0.7 percent of the value of their production. This goal is not very ambitious. Therefore, the programs in some enterprises ought to be revised.

Wiktor Borcuch, secretary of the PZPR KZ at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, said that the savings program at the shipyard arose on the basis of proposals made by the rank-and-file workers. The goal of the program is to save approximately 1 billion zlotys in various sectors during the 1982-83 period. Implementation of this program has been very poor so far.

Franciszek Karwowski, manager of the Malinowo Works, presented the plant's savings program. It comprises 15 points, implementation of which is to realize a savings of nearly 28 million zlotys. Thus, for example, the greenhouse department included conservation of mazut in its program. According to calculations, 21,500 tons of mazut should be used annually. It has proved possible to reduce this usage to nearly 10,000 tons, and in 1983 a further reduction of 2,000 tons is planned, at the same time maintaining the

previous level of production. The speaker also touched on the problem of waste due to unjustified shipments. Malinowo products are shipped to the southern part of the country, but Gdansk Province is supplied with shipments from the interior of the country.

Renata Narloch, first secretary of the POP at the Provincial Enterprise for the Meat Industry, discussed plans for more efficient use of raw materials, reduction of energy consumption, and improvement of the quality and efficiency of work. She stated that in the first half of the year the enterprise attained 41 percent of its targeted goals. In speaking of difficulties, she emphasized problems connected with the introduction of the motivational system, as well as complications arising from excessive monitoring, which have become a veritable plague for the enterprise.

Henryk Kubaszewski, secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Sopot, discussed implementation of savings programs in Sopot enterprises and workplaces. During the first half of the year, production goals were essentially met. Production rose by 102.4 percent, which is lower than the average for Gdansk Province, but employment increased by 4 percent. Among the problems connected with implementation of economic reform, H. Kubaszewski included the following: instability of regulations in the area of finances; lack of a solution to the problem of employment; and outside interference in the business of the enterprise. However, implementation of the savings programs has achieved its first successes. Employment in the administration has been verified, and a better use of worktime and a decrease in energy consumption have been noted.

Jerzy Muszynski, member of the executive board of the PZPR KM in Gdynia, stated that the KM plenum has evaluated factory savings programs, which in the industrial enterprises of Gdynia amount to 1.8 billion zlotys in savings. Maritime and foreign trade enterprises have savings programs of differing value. The programs worked out by the PLO and the Gdynia Port Authority are worthy of note. Municipal service enterprises plan to effect a savings of 83-39 million zlotys.

Ryszard Raclawski, head of Stara Kiszewa Gmina, focused on several problems, including the need to add lime to the soil. Steps must also be taken to stop the decrease in the hog population. These steps should aim at ensuring a suitable quantity of concentrates and feed for sows and to revise the price ratio for livestock and grain.

Stanislaw Laskowski, member of the KW Maritime Commission and manager of the Gdynia branch of the PIHZ [Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade], stressed the need for more attention not so much to the programs themselves as to their results. Thus, for example, one of the primary goals--improving the quality of services--is not being implemented in a satisfactory manner in our province.

The problem of savings should be viewed from a long-range perspective. Unwise economizing leads to losses. The idea of rebuilding Szczecin Wharf in the port of Gdansk, for example, should be considered from this perspective. If the wharf is not modernized to adapt it for servicing ro-ro [roll on-roll off] ships, this will surely bring about losses in the very near future.



Savings programs cannot be considered in a vacuum. A comprehensive approach is required. Thus, we should consider whether or not production shipyards, in addition to their previous activity, ought to undertake repair of ships.

Jerzy Podgorski, vice minister of the Office of Materials Management and representative for matters pertaining to savings programs, also took part in the discussion. In his speech, he reminded the delegates that the government's savings program had been ratified together with the National Socioeconomic Plan [NPSG] for 1982-1985, of which it is an integral part. This plan is dependent on certain factors, including limited possibilities of supplying enterprises with raw and finished materials, fuels and energy. The plan assumes a 50 percent production increase from conserved materials. It is anticipated that the annual savings in raw and finished materials will be 1.9-2 percent, and in the construction industry, 6 percent. Energy consumption should decrease by 2.6-3 percent annually, while productivity should increase by 4.1 percent, and by 6 percent in industry. "These are the facts," stated Vice Minister Podgorski, "and we cannot count on a change in the situation." It is precisely because of these factors that the government's program for both short-term and long-term savings was included in the NPSG. Implementation of the program is a necessity, although the concept of "savings" should be replaced by the concept of a "program of efficient usage."

Apart from the economic instruments, another prerequisite for successful implementation is a change in the mentality of workers. They must learn to be efficient. The program is not a single action; it must be a regular activity and must be reflected in everyday practice. Therefore it is meant for everyone.

What instruments support the program? In 1984 such instruments will include: governmental orders, modifications of economic reform mechanisms for improving quality, introduction of norms in the usage of materials, fuels and energy, as well as prohibitions on the manufacture of products requiring a high consumption of energy and material. While the independence of enterprises will be fully respected, emphasis will be placed on concordance of the interests of the workplace with the interests of society.

J. Podgorski also mentioned the sources for financing savings activities. These sources include the enterprises' bonus, profit and employee suggestion funds. In addition, the Council of Ministers has issued a decree establishing an incentive system for reducing usage of materials in relation to the mandatory norms. A Central Savings Fund will also be established, under the management of the Office for Materials Management in order to develop technologies for reducing consumption of materials.

It is still too early to assess the results of the savings programs. However, it is possible to speak about certain trends in the national economy. Thus, on the basis of a poll taken in 150 enterprises, it was found that these enterprises had manufactured more than 250 new products with a lower consumption of energy and materials.

Jerzy Ossowski, manager of the Bacutil Enterprise for Processing Animal Feed, described the problems hindering proper implementation of the savings and

anti-inflation programs in his plant. Bacutil is a subsidized enterprise in which the value of the raw materials used constitutes 85-90 percent of the production costs. "How can we plan to save," he asked, "when the enterprise was not informed about the amount of its subsidy for 1983 until this May?"

Marian Nowak, assistant manager of the Polfa Pharmaceutical Works in Starogard, discussed the implementation of the plant's savings programs. They were worked out by the rank and file in the individual departments. The goal of the programs is to make better use of the production base, to reduce consumption of raw materials (particularly imported ones) and to raise productivity.

Marian Kulakowski, KW member and a worker in the Texana Cooperative, questioned the effectiveness of the work of party organizations and the management of those plants whose savings programs have set unrealistic goals. According to M. Kulakowski, the existence of such possibilities indicates the previous inefficiency of these enterprises. He also cautioned against the idea of changing the kind of income tax paid by the enterprise, stating that changing the progressive tax to a linear one would enable some plants to gain excessive, unjustified profits.

Aleksander Zubrys, secretary of the KD [District Committee] of Gdansk-Center City, familiarized the participants with the results of the implementation of savings and anti-inflation programs in workplaces located in the echelon's jurisdiction. He emphasized the need for combining these programs with the economic tasks arising from the decisions of the 6th and 10th plenums of the PZPR Central Committee. Comrade Zubrys also mentioned the movement for greater efficiency and innovation as an important and unappreciated source of savings. In addition, he proposed the introduction of so-called individual savings cards for workers.

Bogumil Kosznik, manager of the Food Industry Bank [BGZ], presented information on the implementation of savings programs in enterprises served by the BGZ. He confirmed the previously formulated thesis that industrial productivity is not keeping up with the increase in workers salaries. This is also true of enterprises in the food, wood-working and lumber industries. He called attention to the disturbing increase in costs in these enterprises.

Stefan Milewski, KW member and vice governor of Gdansk Province, stated his views regarding several problems mentioned during the discussion. He discussed, among other matters, the principles of operating those companies in Gdansk Province which are owned by Poles living abroad, and informed the participants in the plenum about the results of inspections conducted in these enterprises by the revenue offices. The vice governor also described the activities of the Provincial Office with respect to enterprises supplying fruits and vegetables to the provincial market.

Ryszard Hutarski, assistant manager of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke highly of the preparations for the plenum and commended the reports and proposals presented during the discussion. He stated that the results of the savings programs will affect the implementation of the goals set in the NPSG for 1983-85. These programs should concentrate on fighting inflation by increasing production and services, by reducing consumption of materials, fuels and energy, and by counteracting excessively high, unjustified profits.

Comrade Hutterski called attention to the basic systemic solutions for furthering implementation of these goals, such as: the Council of Ministers July 1983 resolutions ensuring conditions for market production; the finance minister's decree granting tax credits to small-scale industries; and the raising of the income ceiling so as to enable pensioners to undertake additional work without the threat of losing their pensions.

In summing up the discussion, Stanislaw Bej, KW first secretary, said that despite considerable progress in implementing savings and anti-inflation programs in the provincial economy, there are still negative phenomena, the most serious of which is the insufficient connection of these programs with the process of economic reform, or--as was noted in the discussion--the inadequate use of human potential through better organization and work discipline and through encouragement of worker inventiveness.

Thus, it is the task of echelons, party organizations and the managers of enterprises to reassess savings and anti-inflation programs in industries and to rectify possible errors and shortcomings. The programs should also be monitored by workers self-management bodies as well as by technical engineering personnel in the factory cells of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and the PTE [Polish Economic Society].

Without questioning the validity of the motivational factor of wages in the implementation of programs, the KW first secretary said that the nonwage system of worker satisfaction with successful savings programs is presently being used too infrequently in enterprises.

Next, Edward Dziekan, member of the KW executive board, presented on behalf of the Commission for Resolutions and Proposals the draft of a decision for a KW planum.

The decision confirms and accepts the tasks set forth in the report of the KW executive board; it also states that the provincial savings and anti-inflation program contains the basic policies and tasks of the government's savings and anti-inflation program, which have been supplemented by suggestions from workplaces and by city and gmina programs ratified at meetings of the national councils.

However, it is the opinion of the PZPR KW in Gdansk that not all local and factory savings programs guarantee consistent and complete implementation of the NPSG for 1983-85 in Gdansk Province.

In connection with this, the KW resolution obligates all echelons and party organizations to reevaluate their own savings programs. This reevaluation should lead to the development of long-term projects for reducing consumption of energy, raw materials and finished products, and for improving the quality of goods and services, in the province's industrial plants, construction industry, transportation system, commerce, municipal services and agriculture.

"The goals of the savings programs," we read in the resolution, "should be closely connected with the motivational system of wages." It is also

essential to conduct propaganda and disseminate information in order to familiarize all workers in enterprises and cooperatives with these goals.

At the same time, the resolution obligates all echelons and grades to make periodic assessments of the implementation of savings programs in their own localities. The KW executive board, on the other hand, is to consider all proposals made during the plenary discussion, to developments for their implementation, and to monitor implementation of the resolution itself.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by the members of the plenum.

Next, Mieczyslaw Chabowski, KW secretary, informed the participants in the meeting about the provincial organization's preparations for the party's newly begun reports-elections campaign and for the personnel review of all regular PZPR workers. The forthcoming 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee will establish a precise schedule and guidelines for the campaign, which is to begin in mid-October in party groups, OOPs and POPs. Comrade Chabowski called for energetic organizational activities in individual echelons and organizations in order to conduct the campaign efficiently. Its main task will be to evaluate the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The review of regular party cadres is to improve personnel policy in the PZPR as well as the style and form of party work.

The last item on the agenda of the KW plenum was organizational matters. The executive board proposed that Henryk Kubaszewski be made chairman of the KW Propaganda Commission. It also proposed that Anna Szalach's nomination for the position of manager of the KW Personnel Department be confirmed; that Jozef Sarosiek be promoted to manager of the Organizational Bureau of the Provincial Party Control Commission in Gdansk; and that Witold Sobolewski be promoted to director of the KW Center for Information, Analysis and Programming of Party Work. In an open vote, the members of the plenum unanimously confirmed the above nominations.

The plenum also accepted the executive board's nomination of Jerzy Wielinski, chairman of the Provincial Office of the ZSMP [Association of Polish Socialist Youth], for membership in the KW executive board; and of Piotr Rajca, secretary of the Provincial Council of PRON [Patriotic Society for the Rebirth of Poland], for membership in the plenum of the PZPR KW in Gdansk. The proposals were accepted unanimously in a secret vote.

The plenum concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

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## ORZECZOWSKI COMMENTS ON MERITS, PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY

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[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, by Wieslaw Rogowski: "For the Intellectual Hegemony of Marxism"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] It is understandable that ARGUMENTY Contemporary Weekly is interested in the range of goals and influence of socialist ideology because it is one of the most important elements contributing to the formation of contemporary scientific outlook. The development of events in Poland in the years 1980-1983 and in the preceeding period seemed to point to--as some people believed--the diminishing influence of socialist ideology and its ideals in Polish society. On this supposedly true fact two concepts, differing in ideology and time period, were based. The first one, the concept of socialist "consumer society," which was being realized after 1970--unfortunately on credit and without rooting it in the actual effects of society's labor-- was to bind Poles to a socialist program exclusively through the realities of material existence. It was to be a "jump into developed socialism" catapulted by loans. The second concept--to an extent similar to the first one--was the result of certain calculations suggesting that the working class was insensitive to ideology or even was an ideologically empty social area which could easily be entered and dominated, as the opposition and counterrevolutionaries believed. Was it empty? Can we say that one of these two concepts achieved success? Is ideology indeed dying out?

[Answer] The problems contained in your question are multilayered and complex, and the answer to them cannot be simple. One would actually have to carry out broad social research which on the basis of an analysis of views and internal motivations of individuals and human groups, would permit us to show the consequences of one and the other strategy of shaping human consciousness. Obviously the knowledge of the strategies, even when incomplete, permits the formulation of certain evaluations which are also confirmed by observations and by our personal and social experience and contacts. Underestimating the consequences of each of these strategies would be a false step, it would be turning away from the truth.

The first of the strategies, which you called a "jump into developed socialism catapulted by loans," stressed mainly the issues of material existence and treated them in practice as the most important goal in the life of an individual and of society. The results of this--in my opinion--will continue to exert influence on Polish society for many, many years.

They consist of greatly increased material aspirations and of turning man as an individual as well as whole social groups toward matters of exclusively material existence, resulting in individual and social competition expressed in accumulation of material goods.

[Question] According to the formula: "To have, rather than to be..."

[Answer] Exactly so, if we have in mind its deeper implications. Such a reorientation of consciousness and attitudes--despite, it seems, good intentions presented at the time in all kinds of pronouncements--consisted in fact of pushing higher values into the background. It was assumed that a high level of material existence would by itself result in a broad striving for fulfilment of higher needs.

Prosperity gained through loans could not achieve this because the material successes of society and individuals had no relation to actual work output. Besides, what was worse, a policy expressing itself in putting on the market goods that had not been produced but had been bought on credit, in society's consciousness disrupted the bond between production and distribution. These are issues from our most recent history. However, the dilemma of distribution concerns not only our society and recent years: the disputes are as old as the worker movement and the socialist movement. In the history of socialist thought it appeared from the very beginning. Also from the very beginning trends stressing, above all, the social distribution of the fruits of production appeared. All socialist utopias were based on this, among other things, for example: those of Thomas Moore, Campanelli, or the idea of Fourier's phalanx settlements. In all these cases the issue of distribution was put forward. It turned out that even at the time of the formation of the organized worker movement, this problem did not disappear, although logic and realism would dictate that distribution be tied to production: the more produced, the more there is to distribute...

Marx and Engels criticized the programs of German social democracy precisely for this reason. By such an approach, it disrupted the bond between distribution and production, forgetting that production is primary. It sounds trivial today, but it was not trivial then because it is a great truth: we must produce in order to divide. The strategy of a "jump into developed socialism" in Poland disrupted this bond so essential to socialism. The implications of this question are not exclusively economic, neither are they merely material or social. The problem is strictly ideological, because this concept makes shifts and revaluations in the status of social consciousness essential. Besides, it changes fundamentally the picture of scientific socialism.

[Question] We are not, however, rejecting the principle of raising the level of material and cultural existence of socialist society; we even consider these questions to be extremely important goals of the system.

[Answer] Of course, but based on a realistic principle which I recalled in connection with Marx and Engels' criticism of the programs of socialdemocracy. Joining material and cultural goals, however, the development of man and society must be treated as one, both in the sense that the sphere of material prosperity cannot be detached from intellectual, spiritual and ethical goals and motivations, and in the sense that man exists in society and is a part of society. The egoism of an individual, group or a class takes away from others that which does not necessarily constitute a share earned by the work of this individual, group or class.

Returning to the course of our reflections, we ought to observe, I think, that revolution in a country such as ours, which started from a very low level of development, in general always raises greater expectations in people--which is natural--than there are realistic possibilities of satisfying them at a given moment. We must realize that. The creators of the socialist program in Poland were aware of it. At a certain time, however, the enormous danger resulting from broad expectations and the impossibility of satisfying them were lost from sight. At such times a specific cluster of propaganda slogans is usually employed in order to achieve certain tactical goals. Achievements are exaggerated, unfulfilled expectations--minimized. This is circumventing social reality. In the past decade the slogan of speeding the pace of development, justified, after all, by the needs of the economy and society and correct and proper as an idea, led to an accumulation of negative ideological results in attitudes and in the sphere of social consciousness. This danger, distorting the picture of the future and the value of work, the sense of the indispensable effort and sacrifices, existed already in 1944 and '45. Wladyslaw Gomulka was fully aware of it, giving testimony to it in his speeches and pronouncements in 1945 and '46. Thus dangers can be the same or similar, but mistakes need not be repeated and we should be watch out for them.

With regard to the other important theme in your question, concerning a different, possibly more dangerous strategy according to which the working class is ideologically an empty area which can be easily dominated by the enemies of socialism, this strategy has left behind considerable devastation, particularly among the youth. It must be sadly admitted that in a certain degree it flowed from the first strategy. The neglect of ideological motivations, social ethics and social goals, shifting of emphasis onto the issue of exclusively personal success, achieved sometimes in the daily practice per fas et nefas--and the influence of the "propaganda of success," so irritating and rejected at the end of the 1970's and having such contrary effect on social reception--they all constitute a sum of errors committed by us, the result of which was the opening of empty fields for the adversary. We did not defend them sufficiently. However, we must first count the facts and later the intentions.

It is significant that the second strategy--of entering into the sphere of social consciousness with proposals different from ours--has also left deep traces in the attitudes and way of seeing life, particularly among the youthful part of society, including young workers. Taking advantage of the fact that the practice of the past decade devalued the importance of such goals and slogans as social justice, equality, people's power and self-management, antisocialist forces including the NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions] "Solidarity" tried to demonstrate that they were the guarantee of the realization of those slogans and that methods and ways different from those proposed by our system and by the Polish United Workers Party must be sought.

It is an old method. In the historical situation which was changed by the 1917 Socialist Revolution, the development of the USSR and creation of numerous socialist countries, the enemies can no longer appeal to bare counterrevolutionary, antisocialist slogans. Whether they like it or not, they must operate with ideas rooted in the consciousness of people and shaped by socialism, only reinterpreting their content. An example prior to ours was the rebellion in Kronstadt in 1917, when the power of soviets was indeed, wanted, but without communists. The fates of successful and unsuccessful revolutions also provide similar examples.

The meanderings of history are complex, but its sense--relatively simple. The enemies of Lenin's idea, opponents of the socialist revolution, find themselves continually in retreat. The victory of the proletariat in Russia gave a start to a new epoch. Whatever one can say about the poverty, efforts and sacrifices suffered by society ravaged by war and inspired to a struggle for its rights by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, one cannot erase the irrevocable verdict of history. This is worth remembering, when evaluating the Polish experiences, particularly the recent, dramatic ones.

Not everything we have contributed to in the country can be credited to the positive side of the historical balance. We must clearly recognize gains and losses. We have already discussed some of these questions. I would like to point out one more thing, something which seems to be a result of the side features of those ideological strategies, a result of antisocialist influences, which under no circumstances can be underestimated. This issue is the doubtless "deideologization" of a certain part of Polish society. I suppose it cannot be any different. After all, we are dealing with a collapse of the vision of a "jump into developed socialism" and the phraseology of the whole "propaganda of success." The second strategy also lost out in the face of facts. The sum of these phenomena had to leave traces in the consciousness. They can be observed in a part of the working class, in the intelligentsia and in youth. It is a problem requiring much greater thought and research, its existence, however, is probably doubtless.

Is the thesis about the dying out of ideology true then? I think it is not and never was, because social life and man's life are unthinkable without ideology. The question is only, what does one understand by "ideology"?



If we ask a man who believes he does not have an ideology, in what he sees the sense of his life, to what goals he subordinates his life and whether there are matters giving sense to his individual, daily existence, I think he will point them out and as a rule give a positive answer. Without ideology and purpose, living is simply impossible. There are various ideologies, but it is impossible to live intentionally and consciously without some higher goals. After all, a characteristic of all periods of crisis--and we are living through such a period now in Poland--is striving for some clear, unequivocal ideal which would give an answer to all the doubts and problems troubling us. I have found this to be true many a time in discussion with youth. What we often call the "dying out of ideology" is a twofold phenomenon. On the one hand there exists a state of doubt in the current forms and shapes of ideology, and on the other, young people are filled with great longing for ideals and a desire to get true, honest answers which life, so complex and difficult, brings with itself [sic].

[Question] In fact then, we are dealing not with the dying out of ideology, but with a search for ideals, and attempts to define a particular program which would fit into broader programs serving humanity, such as social justice, progress and socialism.

[Answer] This is indeed how I would describe this phenomenon: searching for an ideology. I visited the West precisely at the time when the end of the "era of ideology" was proclaimed. I dealt there with youth, particularly students. After all, they ought to feel most strongly and convincingly the dying out of ideology. In private talks and in discussions I observed, in fact, an escape from and doubt in the current ideology, and indeed, the searching for a new one. When they spoke about the crisis of ideology, they meant bourgeois ideology.

[Question] Can one see a similarity between that and our situation regarding youth?

[Answer] The similarity is only superficial, without deeper connections. There, progressive and leftist ideas, the revolutionary alternative and socialist programs--of various colors, but that is beside the point--constituted precisely the other purpose sought by the young. Bourgeois society is not able to offer any convincing idea beside the program of enrichment and individual success, while a young, sensitive person usually despises such motivations and wants wider, social ones--wants to exist among others as their brother or perhaps as a companion in struggle.

In our country we can talk about a certain crisis of socialist ideology produced by complex and diverse causes. Only to a part of youth, indifferent to the fate of others, can be attractive the proposition of greedy enrichment--for a short while. Such mental and ideological deviation is the cause of, for example, the desire for working in the West, where supposedly everybody has a job and fattens up his purse. The actual truth is that by doing there everything which such a person, a student, for example, would never do at in our country, namely wash toilets or plates in restaurant kitchens, nursing other people's children, carrying out the tiresome duties of a garbage man, living on next to nothing in order to save as much as

possible, the person brings his or her profit back to homeland. The difference in the currency rates completes the picture. It is a fact that in that way it is possible to save something which, when exchanged into Pewex goods, gives altogether different sums. This however is not a model for living. And even when someone there "hits the jackpot," if he finds those goals and forms of existence suitable, it represents at the same time resignation from values whose absence he will begin to feel after some time. In our country the prospects of material existence are not too cheerful today, if you permit me to use this expression. But over there, the prospects of existence, the possibilities of participation, the importance of human initiative and the strength of social ties are differently shaped by life, its sense and its value. To exist--even through pain--or to vegetate spiritually and socially and finally leave unnoticed even by closest neighbors? Are the sense of community and closeness of native truths to be without importance?

I believe that the weakening of the influence of socialist ideology, stemming from the crisis, is a temporary phenomenon. The difference in our situation, on the other hand, lies in the fact that even if its expansion has weakened indeed, nothing else but the same renewed, active and creatively expansive socialist ideology can become the new, rediscovered truth giving sense to life, sought by the young, the truth they want even when they do not give such name to their longing for a true life in a just society. The attractiveness of other visions and other propositions whose superiority lies in the fact that they cannot be realized here on earth, among difficulties and, frequently, confusion, nevertheless, for the good of living people, is of a different nature. To live justly, to act justly among others, and to build, are things important for every human being.

[Question] Undoubtedly, socialist ideology as a program of social justice continues to have large masses of supporters in Poland. When, however, we understand it as a complete and total choice of socialized ownership of the means of production in all spheres of economy, and particularly a choice of an anti-idealistic philosophical program hitched to a social program by a strong link of historical materialism and Marxist dialectic, then the problem becomes more complex.

[Answer] It is true that the idea of social justice is deeply rooted in our nation's consciousness. But one must realize that only some of those who advocate social justice associate it, as a basic value crystalized by history, with the worker movement and Marxism. Humanity's immemorial longing--let us not be afraid of big words--which appears throughout all great philosophical systems and great utopias, found a concrete, real form only in Marxism and scientific socialism, and became the essence of the revolutionary struggle and immense work of our people's, socialist societies. Not all the adherents of the idea of social justice see this connection and connect these two phenomena. Yet, it was Karl Marx who answered the very simple and at the same time basic question; not whether social justice is to be the foundation of future society, but--"What must be done to create such a society?" Marx showed the historical, class character of the concept of objective social justice, the socioeconomic conditions which permit the

practice of this idea and social forces able to create the system of social justice. In Poland the awareness of the unity and inseparableness of these elements of the idea of social justice and its conditions seems to have been shred into separate pieces. The slogan of justice, born from the aspirations and program of the worker movement and scientific socialism, was turned against it. There was an effort to reject scientific socialism, the laws of the revolutionary movement and the reality of the established practice of building the new system, leaving a non-class, general ideal. Such ideals, however, can be twisted around, for and against socialism, and also against the party and the socialist state. Moreover, there exists a complicated phenomenon which in itself--when there is lack of ideological activity and creative influence, exchange of thoughts and discussions broadening the image of reality--causes separation of the reception of the idea of scientific socialism. Socialism is not essentially a heterogeneous structure and is composed of sociopolitical, philosophical and methodological layers. For a theoretician, ideology, the connection between the layers, and deeper motivations in the sociopolitical and socioeconomic spheres are contained in the outlook and the philosophical spheres. But for an average member of society, unaccustomed to intellectual analyses and to seeing the connections between phenomena, this bond is not so obvious and clear. Therefore we are dealing with the rather common phenomenon of separate treatments of the sociopolitical sphere and the world outlook sphere of scientific socialism.

Some--to put it briefly--consider themselves communists in the layer of sociopolitical aims and accept socialism as a form of social existence and a system, without accepting its philosophical assumptions.

[Question] Is this not, in a sense, caused by the lack of activism of Polish Marxists?

[Answer] In the sociopolitical sphere the expansion of scientific socialism is enormous. Anticommunist forces, in order to fight socialism in Poland, had to refer to the basic socialist assumptions. This proves how deeply these ideas are rooted in our country. In the West one can observe a phenomenon analogous to a certain extent. There, the greatest anticommunists in order to fight Marxism, use, for example, the so called young Marx and the slogan of the "return to Marx". His theses prior to 1845 are referred to in order to use young Marx to fight revolutionary Marxism, which he created. Antimarxists do not have their own convincing and effective weapon and must search for ways to invent supposed contradictions precisely within the circle of the ideas of the creator of scientific socialism. They also reach for his ideas because without them contemporary philosophy and contemporary social ideas would not have their identity, even if they were born in opposition to this living philosophy of struggle and social development. This must also be taken into consideration when we use the words "expansion of Marxism." The sources of the attractiveness of the sociopolitical vision of scientific socialism will not dry out as long as there exist problems of social justice, class differences and class struggle, and as long as the idea of equality and power to people will demand realization. The concept of expansion must be perceived against a broader background. In the West for many years now an extremely intensive campaign against Marxism has been under way, using

various arguments, for example: placing Engels in opposition to Marx and Marx and Engels in opposition to Lenin. On the other hand, however, we see an extraordinary expansion of Marxism-Leninism in Third World countries. Everywhere, where the problems of social justice and existence in the most elementary sense of the word constitute the basic question of development or degradation of those societies, we are dealing with an increase in the popularity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The matter of the disjointed reception of the ideas of scientific socialism, which we have discussed with reference to our conditions, compels one to ask about its causes. Undoubtedly, in addition to other reasons, it is a result of our errors and our own weaknesses. I think that in Poland, in intellectual-theoretical activity and in education, the philosophical spheres of Marxism have never been our strong point. Marxist philosophy, ethics, the ideological attitudes of social programs and the outlook of their motivation, did not unite in social reception into an inseparable oneness. The intensification of the intellectual activity of Marxism in Poland is required not only by the state of its own achievement and the state of social consciousness, but also by the duty to search for the best ways of building the system, and above all, by the cognitive, intellectual, outlook, philosophical and spiritual duty--let us not be afraid of such a statement--which is, and ought to be the driving force of searching, studies and discoveries. The weaknesses I am talking about have been caused by various conditions, including opportunistic ones, born out of the desire to please various forces and institutions; they also resulted from the fact that the effects of such creative activity cannot be expected from one day to another; it is a question of decades and even generations. In the situation when this or that research action was undertaken and did not bring immediate results, the whole action, long-term in its nature, was abandoned, in effect pouring out the baby along with the bath water. On the other hand, theses were formulated which were to turn some necessities, often basic ones, into virtues.

[Question] The 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee clearly emphasized the importance of the development of Marxist studies and the need to apply their results in political, economic and social practice. In art, this probably signifies searching for a connection with society and for ways to influence people on the basis of truth. However, in the sphere of culture, art and social sciences, including philosophy, a great debate is under way. Culture and art are an area of a sharp ideological struggle. There are attempts to reject and abolish Marxist methodology, to instill a certain cult of Western culture and science and to carry over to our terrain the evaluations and theses of bourgeois sciences; finally, to revise Marxism-Leninism. The report stated that there are people who have remained faithful to Marxism--and I shall add that there are creators of culture who have remained faithful to Marxism. There are also those who ostentatiously abandoned our ranks, placing their visiting cards in the headquarters of other camps. History--the way of analyzing reality and its reflection in art--are deformed by them for the purposes of a struggle against socialism. How should we counteract this?

[Answer] We are frequently inclined to talk about a crisis of Marxism and about the narrowing of the field of its influence. We must, however, realize the obvious truth that everything great created in Poland after 1945, in humanistic sciences, all the great, often very significant achievements in the sphere of culture, are connected with socialism and Marxism. I do not know whether we can point to another, non-Marxist trend in the methodology of social sciences which would have such a creative and inspirational influence as Marxism. I am referring here to the area closest to me: history and historiography. That which is significant and important and which gave Polish historiography an opportunity to enter the international arena and strengthened its position in the world historiography is connected precisely with Marxism. I am pointing out this aspect without ignoring the negative phenomena we are talking about, namely the affiliation with bourgeois sciences, the ideological penetration, succumbing to theses alien to Marxism, such as revisionism, and becoming enamored of novelites. Marxism as a methodology of social sciences, as a certain method of analysis and evaluation of social phenomena has permanently entered our Polish humanities.

Today, as the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee estimated, we must further develop Marxist studies and actively connect them with political, economic and social practice. The source of Marxism's strength in science, culture and in all things, has always been its answering contemporary questions in the fullest possible and most correct way. Marxism ceased to be an enlivening trend when it ossified and began to revolve within its own categories, thus sharing the fate of many contemplative philosophical systems. This means that it treated itself as a closed reality, detached from live, actual reality. Marxism in our country after 1945 was a great, lively trend because it responded in the fullest and best way to the problems of postwar Poland and also to the problems of the past, while opening the doors to Poland's future and creating the forecasts for its development--a new perspective. Life, history and future--constituted many possible conventions of the development and Marxism showed it, while the workers class took the side of nonalternative proposals, mobilizing social forces. In the past decade, for various reasons, Marxism lost that position, that capacity for a critical analysis of reality, and the ability--or one should rather say, duty--to make forecasts, as they were no longer requested and seemed no longer needed. Therefore, it did not side with that developmental trend which best met the interests of the working class. This is bitter criticism. It cannot, however, be ignored because the time has come for the difficult and important effort to restore Marxism to its due place in science, politics, visions of social solutions, in culture, art and the consciousness of Polish society.

The 13th Plenum is giving a great opportunity to social sciences and Marxist theory because it is not proposing even a fraction of ready made solutions which would only have to be commented upon, but rather it is stating problems and expects answers from science. It used to be different once, when the party determined, for example, the stage of the development of socialism in Poland, the degree of society's integration or relations between classes. It paralyzed social sciences and Marxists. Sociopolitical practice today formulates only certain questions, certain tasks, with which to address

Marxist sciences, and expects from them answers and alternatives from which to choose the most correct, real, and true one, conforming with the methodology of Marxism-Leninism. And this is the proper point of departure in the struggle for the role of scientific Marxism and the intellectual hegemony of Marxism in our social life. Only such practice, not declarations and resolutions, can achieve this. Therefore also propaganda and education must take as a point of reference real possibilities, real relations and the real state of the Marxist theory. Despite various complications and weak spots, shortcomings and possibly also renunciations, the intellectual forces of Marxism are many times greater than twenty or thirty years ago. The number of its followers and spokesmen exceeds the number of thirty years ago, and particularly of forty years ago, when it was nonetheless strong and creative, providing a new social vision, new, attractive and revelational proposals for the problems of national existence. Now the situation seems to be the opposite: we have much greater possibilities and technical-organizational means of influence, yet at the same time we are unable to take advantage of them. This relative weakness is at the same time the strength of the other, nonsocialist ideologies. Nevertheless I am looking at this issue optimistically, although at the same time realistically. There is no other methodology or ideology which could analyze and forecast reality as truly as Marxism, hence my optimism. My realism, on the other hand, is based on the fact that achieving intellectual hegemony by Marxism is a long-term task and requires many endeavors, such as counting our forces and balancing what can be done today, and tomorrow.

[Question] Such a review of the forces of the intellectual left, a kind of meeting or congress of the progressive forces in culture and science, could be an important accent in the celebrations of the 40 years of People's Poland. It is a useful and important initiative, which could bear fruit in a growth of prosocialist forces in this sphere.

[Answer] Without deciding about its form and time, we should probably opt for such a programmatic, creative intellectual forum, which would be led by Marxists, their political supporters, and ideologically active followers of socialism. We very much need an integration of the forces of the left and the democratic forces; it is almost indispensable for us.

[Question] In society where there are at least two, if not many, world outlooks and where the influences of Christianity and particularly Catholicism are broad, we need a dialog between the representatives of both philosophical ideologies, establishing a possible convergence or identification of social goals seen from different positions but serving socialism in Poland. As a consequence, we aim at cooperation of social groups and trends in the physical sphere of the economy, culture and organization of public life--on behalf of socialism. On the other hand, a dialog in the philosophical sphere--which some have already urged in the past--can contribute to better mutual understanding and greater cognitive clarity, but cannot be an ideological compromise. What compromise can there be between a fideist and a materialist? Nevertheless, we have to live together and coexist; moreover, we must see a unity of society's national goals as a class structure today and classless structure tomorrow. This requires mutual tolerance regarding world outlooks,

and at the same time a need for ideological struggle. Marxism-Leninism in this light can be expansive in a good sense, and must begin the struggle for the minds of the young generation. Thus it must be cognitively attractive and examine all aspects of life, without shunning anything.

[Answer] All of that we have talked about so far is not happening in a vacuum, but in concrete Polish conditions. Among other things, they are created by the multiplicity of world outlooks of the real society existing today. Of course there can be no talk about any compromise or ideological convergence. This, I believe, is not only our judgement but also the judgement of the spokesmen and advocates for the other outlooks. This, by the way, is very important because there ought not to be anything left unsaid and no misunderstandings should arise as a result. To this is related the question of stating clearly our aims and goals. Our goal--I repeat and stress once more--is the intellectual hegemony of Marxism-Leninism. It is a natural consequence of the political and socioeconomic hegemony of the working class. The working class cannot fully rule if it does not rule on these three planes: political, economic and ideological.

As far as the question of carrying out the dialog is concerned, I imagine that neither side will hide its identity and each will have the awareness of representing its own reasons and systems of value. Perhaps within those systems there are convergent values worth defining and which ought to be defined for the purpose of clarity, among other things, and understanding that when two say the same thing, it does not always mean the same thing. For example, regarding the ideas of equality and justice, their content can differ and this must be precisely known. It must also be pointed out that the ideological dialog is also bound by the principle of fair play; it requires, therefore, a minimum of political culture as well as tolerance for different views. Tolerance, naturally, has its limits because one cannot be tolerant toward those who themselves are not tolerant. Marxism by its humanistic nature is a tolerant world outlook, but tolerance ends at this point for all systems which are intolerant and strike at elementary principles of humanism. Neither nationalism, nor fascist ideas, Philistinism, clerical devotion, ideas strengthening and justifying the right to exploitation and the like, can count on our tolerance.

It is characteristic that the the supporters of democratic solutions, humanists closely bound with the life of the country and with the socialist background, have not responded negatively to the proposals of cooperation and participation in the work of the country's development and the struggle with the crisis, the sharpest form of which, besides the economic breakdown, is the disintegration of common goals of individuals, groups, social classes and the whole nation. In this panorama of different visions and different motivations for common action for the good of socialist Poland, there is a whole palette of ideological and social programs connected, however, to one goal. Socialism is this integrating force, which, like the force of the love of motherland, pulls together again the majority of the working people, the majority of Poles. Therefore it is necessary and indispensable that there be a dialog on every plane, a dialog which does not shun differences facilitating orientation and which does not hide what I have described as the

idea of ideological identity, including the ideological identity of Marxists, the advocates of scientific socialism. A dialog, however, with a practical, real purpose, which is the struggle for the shape of reality, which must be changed, transformed and improved so that it would correspond better to the vision of the socialist society of justice, equality, human dignity and man's work. If we need a certain cult, it is the cult of motherland, socialist ideals, reason and tolerance.

Marxism has here an extremely important role to play as a causal force, leading idea, an intellectual and social force and a method of building the framework of collective, national existence.

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VARIOUS ISSUES OF MONTHLY MYSL WOJSKOWA REVIEWED

October 1981 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 3, Mar 82 p 47

[Article: "From the Field of Data Processing"; MYSL WOJSKOWA [MILITARY THOUGHT] is a Polish journal devoted to issues of military interest]

[Text] The possibilities created by the use of data processing will undoubtedly be coming under increased use in civil defense. Our readers will find basic information on data processing systems and trends in its development in an article by Lt Col Jozef Iwaniak that appeared in MYSL WOJSKOWA No 10/81. In the introduction to his article, the author points out three successive stages in which data processing systems can be used for purposes of control (command) which are:

- resolving autonomous data-processing tasks (reports) in particular areas;
- the integration of special systems for producing data and development of systems that operate in support of others (so-called base systems);
- development of integrated data-processing systems.

The main subject of the article, however, is a model of a data-processing system for the 1980's. J. Iwaniak points out its most important features such as its complexity, hierarchical qualities, ability to support a large number of users, dependability, large capacity for data and data integration, high level of data generation, security from outside access and the system's ability to add to itself. Analysis of the methods of designing data-processing systems and the features that will be included in coming systems show us the probably directions that will be taken in data systems design work. Above all, this will involve the development of techniques and methods that allow users to take an active part in the full process of designing data-processing systems, methods and equipment that will lead to computer support for design work and mechanisms for data-processing system self-improvement.

Jozef Iwaniak's article appears under the title "Trends in the Development of Data-Processing Systems and Methods for Designing Them."

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 2, Feb 82 p 48

[Article: "Conventional Arms in the Light of the 1980 Geneva Agreement"]

[Text] In MYSŁ WOJSKOWA No 10/81, Cols Marian Flemming and Alojzy Kulawiec discuss problems associated with the prohibition of reduction of the use of certain types of conventional arms. For many years, these problems have been the subject of work in the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Recently, every annual session of the General Assembly has taken up the problem of incendiary weapons and certain other conventional arms that could be prohibited or limited on humanitarian grounds.

In 1979 and 1980, the United Nations General Assembly held special conferences in Geneva (a Polish delegation participated). The result of these meetings were agreements limiting the use or production of weapons regarded as inhumane that came out in four documents:

a general convention;

a protocol on the prohibition of weapons that produce shrapnel which is invisible to x-rays;

a protocol on limiting the use of land mines, snares and "other devices";

a protocol on limiting the use of incendiary weapons.

The general convention addresses the need to protect civilian populations from the effects of war and the fact that, according to the laws of war, it is impermissible to use arms, ammunition, materials or methods of fighting that cause needless harm and suffering or whose goal is to cause widespread, lasting and serious harm to the natural environment. The convention addresses only armed conflicts of an international, rather than internal, nature.

The protocol on a prohibition of weapons that wound with fragments that are undetectable (made from synthetic materials) by x-ray intends to outlaw such weapons. It does not, however, cover ammunition that creates undetectable fragments from fine metal particles, non-metallic grenade casings, etc., as a side effect.

The protocol to limit the use of mines, mine-traps and other such devices contains a prohibition of their use against civilians. It also forbids the use of mines in a deceitful or inhumane manner: misusing international warning signs, or signs such as the Red Cross, civil defense and others; the attachment of mine-traps on the sick, wounded, corpses or on graves; the placing of the above devices with medical equipment, at first aid stations and ambulances; and fastening them to children's toys, food, drink containers, clothing, toilet articles, kitchen and home utensils and to religious objects.

The protocol aroused much controversy over limiting the use of incendiary devices. Many neutral nations have demanded a complete prohibition of these devices, regardless of how they are delivered to their target. The socialist states have spoken out for moderate limitation to the use of incendiary substances such as napalm. A compromise solution was finally reached: civilian populations are to be protected exclusively against incendiary weapons but the use of weapons and munitions that produce fire and heat as a side effect are not limited since they are used in antitank systems and high-explosives. Designated as incendiary devices were "weapons or ammunition that are primarily intended for starting fires or burning people by the action of flames or heat or are the result of chemical reactions of substances directed at a target."

The article by Marian Flemming and Alojzy Kulawiec is entitled "The 1980 Geneva Agreement on Prohibition and Limitation of Certain Conventional Arms."

#### December 1981 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 5, May 82 p 48

[Article: "The Foreseeable Development of Tactics and Operations in the 1980's"]

[Text] Predicting changes in the principles of tactical and operational actions must be based on analysis of the world political and military situation and the development of both quality and number of weapons. The following tendencies in the improvement of NATO weaponry have been observed:

- the creation of increasingly destructive weapons types and new weapons of mass attack by using other physical properties new to weaponry;
- the preparation of strategic weaponry capable of accurately delivering nuclear warheads and attacking targets (these include the Pershing II rockets and automatically-guided Cruise missiles, the new generations of direct-support combat helicopters and airplanes);
- the development of new systems of command and electronic warfare;
- improvement of conventional weaponry to increase their fire power and protection against the enemy.

It is worth pointing out that the boundary between conventional weaponry and mass attack weapons is becoming increasingly vague and that intensive work is being conducted on improvement of biochemical, chemical and neutron weapons. Col Kazimierz Nozko describes this work in his article "An Outline of Certain Trends and Tendencies in the Development of Tactics and Operations in the 1980's."

The conclusions formulated by the author on the eventual character of military operations are as follows. In the efforts of the socialist states to prevent the next world war are unsuccessful, the resulting armed conflict will be one

between two opposed political systems. The main decisive force may be strategic nuclear arms. It would be hard to predict how long a nuclear war could last. It can be assumed that it would be a protracted war. In the author's opinion, an "atomic blitzkrieg" is unrealistic, since the history of warfare shows us that the introduction of new weaponry does not at all reduce the duration of a conflict. Furthermore, if both sides possess similar weapons, the struggle becomes obstinate, complicated and long. For that reason, it also becomes important to prepare both the troops and the entire population of a nation properly to survive nuclear strikes and to be able to act under conditions of enormous destruction, fires, and large contaminated and prohibited zones that make themselves felt in large shortages and movements of populations.

The readers will find Kazimierz Nozko's article in MYSL WOJSKOWA No 12/81.

#### NATO Arms Programs

The same issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA contains an article by Col Zdzislaw Golab entitled "The General Characteristics and Trends and Arms Programs in the NATO States." The information given by this article shows that, in the 1980's and 1990's, we should expect to see the West develop its military technology in the areas of control, fire correction, remote control, reconnaissance, target identification and tracking, and ammunition. The author mainly discusses work in these areas that is being conducted in the United States and West Germany. For example, the U.S.A. is studying, among other things, the possibilities of using second- and third-generation spatial explosives to destroy targets at sea and in space while in the area of chemical warfare, the chief interest lies in binary gases or nontoxic substances which become toxic at the moment they are mixed. Experiments are being conducted on the use of gelatinous substances for changing the consistency of water in rivers, lakes, marine straits and ports into a "pulp" that would hinder the movement of naval vessels. Another "curiosity" is a catalyst that would initiate a reaction of cellulose with atmospheric oxygen. This would cause paper to decompose into dust and disorganize the enemy.

The improvement of biological weapons in the U.S.A. has been involved in areas such as the development of synthetic biological weapons by changing gene structures and the cultivation of pathogenic viruses that are highly resistant to antibiotics or possess altered biochemical and immunological properties.

The modernization of nuclear weapons has been directed at enhancing target destruction and the construction of small warheads that can be delivered by artillery. The Bundeswehr [General Federal Army] will see the introduction of complex weapons systems using infrared, laser, millimetric wavelengths, systems for rapid acquisition and processing of reconnaissance data, increased protection against electronic warfare, and reduced weapons reaction time. Fire-correction equipment should provide weaponry with greater accuracy.

In the coming 10-15 years, the military power of the NATO states should be enhanced by:

--a rapid increase in the size of the nuclear arsenal by the production in larger numbers of delivery systems, the creation of new delivery systems and more effective munitions;

--increasing the combat value of conventional forces, i.e., enhancing the firepower of land forces, the neutralization of armor and aviation, and improvement in the quality of air and sea forces;

--improving the system troop strategic development and speeding up their deployment into battle;

--streamlining the operational and combat training of troops and staffs.

#### January 1982 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 6, Jun 82 pp 47-48

[Article: "The Danger of Ionizing Radiation"]

[Text] When the enemy uses a classical nuclear weapon, i.e., one based upon nuclear fission, radiation is produced as a result of the effects of a relatively small part of the total power of the explosion. On the other hand, radiation is the main effect of a neutron weapon. The radiological effects produced by a neutron bomb are therefore much more dangerous than those of a standard nuclear weapon. Aside from their introduction of neutron weapons, the NATO armies are modernizing classical nuclear weaponry and giving greater priority to lower-kiloton warheads. At the start of the 1970's, the United States had already begun production of very low-kiloton nuclear weapons, the so-called "mininukes." They are equivalent in size to 0.1-0.5 kilotons. Miniaturizing missile payloads was one of the elements of the nuclear weapons modernization program which is supposed to increase the accuracy of strikes when smaller warheads are used, to limit damage from explosions and to reduce the vulnerability of nuclear-missile delivery systems by increasing their mobility.

A series of exercises has shown that the use of high-kiloton charges and surface bursts contaminates large areas with radiation which can destroy or seriously hinder friendly troop mobility. On the other hand, if air bursts alone are used, a large part of the power of the explosion is unused, since the weapon's radius of effects considerably exceeds the size of its target. The use of low- and very-low-kiloton weapons is supposed to eliminate this problem.

Neutron warheads differ in that the blast effects are small but the extent and power of radiation following the explosion are large. The so-called limited effects of neutron weapons make them feasible for use on friendly territory and heavily-populated urban areas. It can thus be assumed that a unit will naturally suffer losses in equipment and personnel following a low-kiloton nuclear explosion (due to blast and heat effects) but will also lose its ability to fight immediately or within a short time due to radiation.

The development of nuclear weapons and associated problems resulting from the introduction of low-kiloton warheads, especially neutron warheads, are the subject of an article by Div Gen Czeslaw Krzyszowski entitled "The Danger to Troops from Ionizing Radiation in the Light of Improvements in the Quality of Nuclear Weaponry" (See MYSL WOJSKOWA No 1/82).

The author gives particular emphasis to the need for taking a new look at many of our measures for protection against weapons of mass effect and for developing new methods, above all technical and organizational solutions. Examples of the above include equipping military vehicles with a radiation shield, increasing the resistance of military electronic equipment to neutron streams, supplying units with individual, tactical dosimeters that are sensitive to gamma rays and neutron streams with energy levels of at least 14 McV, improving radio protection, simplifying the organization of radioactive dose measurement and preparing armed forces and health services to act under conditions of large personnel losses to radiation.

### Consequences of the Arms Race

Among the theories championed in the West are found those stating the belief that arms production decreases unemployment, prevents crises and induces technological progress. Reality, however, does not support these views. It turns out that expenditures for arms production not only contribute nothing to economic stabilization in capitalist countries or to controlling inflation but have the opposite effect: the creation of strong economic strain. Arms production does not increase employment but, on the other hand, ties up much capital and resources. A billion dollars spent on military investment barely creates 75,000 jobs, while if the same sum is invested in civilian needs more than 112,000 new jobs are opened. The development of nations that have not committed large sums on arms production, such as Japan, Austria, and Spain, has been much more regular than in the nations participating in the arms race (the United States, Great Britain, and the German Federal Republic). There is no need to explain what arms budgets are for poorly developed nations. Here are some facts illustrating the scale of military expenditures. A B-1 bomber costs 80 million dollars. For the same amount, 15 hospitals can be built. One and a half billion dollars is needed to build one Trident nuclear submarine. This is what 460 schools, for example, would cost. An aircraft carrier costs as much as 90,000 apartments.

The above information was taken from the article "Military, Economic and Social Effects of the Arms Race" (MYSL WOJSKOWA No 1/82) by Col Zdzislaw Golab.

Z. Golab analyzes the growth of military budgets from year to year and the consequences. "Giving up the arms race," he writes in conclusion, "would make it possible to turn over for peaceful purposes more than 350 billion dollars and military equipment (computers, automobiles, tractors, aviation equipment, etc.) worth about 500 billion dollars worldwide. Twenty-five million persons serving in the world's armed forces and the same number employed in army-related work would be freed for peacetime production."

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by SZA: "Operativeness of Command"]

[Text] One of the main factors effecting the operativeness of a command is the continually reduced amount of time in which it has to perform particular command activities, especially the gathering, processing and relay of information. During World War II, 23 days or more were spent preparing a tactical formation (unit) for combat. Today, a tactical formation may spend anywhere from a few hours to 10 or more preparing itself for combat while a unit can be ready within a few hours.

The problems of making the most effective use of time in commanding a unit on the battlefield and other closely related problems are the subject of the introductory article to this year's first issue (1/1982) of MYSL WOJSKOWA. The article was written by Col S. Piotrowski.

Col. Piotrowski feels that the struggle for time in future combat actions is one of the most important problems of the command process. Considering the fact that the enemy will be trying to reduce the amount of time that friendly units have to perform their combat mission successfully, there is a need for commanders and command organs to use the sort of methods that can assure them that they will be able to stay ahead of the enemy in the execution of effective nuclear strikes using either classical means or troops.

An immeasurably important problem is establishing conditions that will make it possible to reach decisions and plan combat actions at a given level of command and make it possible for subordinates to perform their assigned missions. At the same time, decisionmaking and combat planning can be accomplished by: plotting an assigned combat mission on at least two maps (along with actual information on the situation), extensively analyzing the mission and explaining it to the proper organs of command, having staff officers and the officers of the specific types of units prepare data on the commander's decision on maps on which the commander's decision will then be worked out along with plans for detailed coordination of the various combat arms and support services.

Some of the other articles of interest in this section were: "The Threat to Troops from Ionizing Radiation in the Light of Improvements in the Quality of Nuclear Weapons" (Div Gen Cz. Krzyszowski); "Autonomous Decisionmaking" (Col Z. Wontrucki); "Choosing the Direction for the Main Strike" (Lt J. Chlebowski); "Conducting Combat With the Use of Various Forms of Surprise" (Cpt J. Sietczynski); "The Role of Artillery Officers in the General Command" (Col R. Urlinski); "The Military Scientific and Technical Revolution" (Lt Col. R. Rosa).

The section "Organization and Data Processing" contained the following articles: "Using Computers to Analyze Possibilities for Neutralizing Air Attack Systems With Low- and Medium-Range Rocket Subunits" (Lt Col J. Kwiatkowski); "Selected Technological Problems of Data Processing" (Lt Col A. Stokalski);

"An Automated System for Planning Training Activities" (Maj J. Haschka and Maj G. Konopacki).

In the "economics" section, special attention is called to an article by Z. Kusmierek, "A Perspective Model for Paying Professional Troops," in which the author, in view of the imperfections of the present system of wages, proposes a new model which he calls the "point system." He also recommends separating retirement pensions from extra pay and increasing them, standardizing the system of merit raises and substituting zonal bonuses with garrison bonuses, changing principles for awarding special bonuses and several other changes. The details are provided in the article.

Two other thematically related articles should be mentioned: "Socialist Programs for Limiting the Arms Race" (Col Doc Dr Hab A. Rogucki), and "The Military, Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race" (Col Z. Golab).

The issue concludes with the sections: "Military History," "Our Allied Armies," reviews and discussions.

#### January 1982 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU in Polish No 9, Sep 82 p 81

[Article by Ryszard Dziubel: "What Others Are Writing: MYSL WOJSKOWA and VESTNIK PROTIVOVOZDUSHNOY OBORONY"]

[Text] Using Computer to Analyze Possibilities of Neutralizing Air Attack Systems with Low- and Medium-Range Rocket Subunits

In organizing combat against air attacks, it is important to assess possibilities for neutralizing low-lying targets with rocket subunits in the given field conditions properly. The possibilities depend upon the zone of detection of rocket-guidance stations at low and very low altitudes as the flight profile The elements common to both of these factors are the characteristics and the features of the terrain. It is very difficult and time-consuming for a staff to analyze the effects of landscape features in the area in which a rocket subunit is deployed for determining the actual fire zones. Therefore, a computer must be used and data on the set of rockets and the terrain must be added to the computer memory. This data should make it possible to designate approximate zones of detection and fire and create specific opportunities for fire at low and very low altitude for several previously chosen posts.

This would, in the end, relieve headquarters and staffs from having to perform difficult calculations. This article was written by Lt Col Jerzy Kwiatkowski for MYSL WOJSKOWA No 1/82. The author gives examples of several algorithms with which the computer could produce the required values. The proposed method for using computers should interest readers concerned with command automation.



## Repairing Antiaircraft Rocketry

Military experience has shown that quick scheduled repairs of armament and combat gear has presented many difficulties. Repair work has been done using many methods, but it has mainly been a matter of rebuilding damaged equipment directly on the battlefield. Under these conditions, subunit personnel alone or with the help of repair shop specialists performed various repairs in the field during pauses in battle or during battle. These experiences continue to be of current interest. Col R. Ivanov describes them in VESTNIK PROTIVOVOZDUSHNOY OBORONY No 4/82.

Modern fire facilities can incur significant losses in weaponry and equipment during combat. For that reason, the extent of repair work is greatly increased and the nature of repairs changes. This situation presents rocketry personnel with a practical conclusion: the support (personnel) of antiaircraft rocketry subunits must be prepared to do repair work themselves under field conditions.

## Metrological Support of Rocketry

One of the necessary conditions for the combat readiness of antiaircraft rocketry is maintaining its control and measurement equipment according to technical requirements. Practical operating experience has shown that not all personnel using this equipment are aware of this fact. This is one of the causes of the poor condition of rocket equipment. The problems of regulating and enforcing principles for handling control and measurement equipment is discussed by Maj N. Slavgorodskiy in his article in VESTNIK PROTIVOVOZDUSHNOY OBORONY No 5/82.

February 1982 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Mar 82 p 5

[Article by SZA: "Sociological Aspects of Command"]

[Text] Viewing the command process from a sociological point of view, one can distinguish three basic elements: the commander, the group of military experts (the staff) and subordinates organized into corresponding formal groups (subunits, units, tactical formations, operational formations, etc). The social aspects of command are interdependent, which means, among other things, that improper action by one element hinders the efficiency and effectiveness of the entire command process. For this reason, in assessing the effectiveness of command, one must also consider such social preconditions as social structure, interpersonal relations, the arrangements of formal and informal roles and social groups and of formal and informal channels of information and group verification of command.

These problems are discussed by Col Z. Szewczyk in an article entitled "Social Preconditions of Command" in the February issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA. I feel that the problems handled by the author of this article are of special interest to our present situation. Recognizing these problems may be of value not only to

the military command cadre but to persons active in administrative and economic management as well.

One of the positive traits of a military organization is its effort at achieving very exact standardization of all activities by special individuals. This comes about as a result of the endeavor to make human activity as efficient as possible and to prevent any actions that would harm military organization.

In discussing the subject of the role taken by formal and informal groups, the author gives much attention to problems of interpersonal relationships. In the process of command, these relationships make themselves felt among commanders, staffs and those commanded as well as in the relations between these elements. Due to the organizational importance of commanders, they largely determine the interpersonal relationships within their units. For that reason, the personal traits of the commanders are also important, as are their methods of command and training, their cultural values, tact and degree of respect for the personal dignity of their subordinates.

Other articles from this section include: "Operativeness of Troop Command" (Col L. Kuleszynski), "Organizing ZT Attacks by Night" (Maj W. Michalicki), "Tactical and Operational Aspects of Using Airborne Landings in an Offensive Operation" (Lt Col E. Duszewicz), "The Influence of Forest and Lake Terrain on the Tasks and Dispositions of Attacking Combat Troops" (Lt Col Cz. Daniel), "Toxins and Possibilities of Using Them in Future Combat Actions" (Lt Col J. Nowak), "Professional Cadre Skills and Training" (Col S. Liszewski), "The Military Scientific and Technical Revolution (Part Two)."

The section on "Organization and Data-Processing" contains two large articles: "Selected Problems of Assessing the Effectiveness of Systems of Command" by Maj P. Sienkiewicz and "Methods of Estimating Programming Man-Hours in Developing Data-Processing Systems" by Majs J. Haschka and J. Marasek.

I would like to point out the article by Col W. Stankiewicz in the "Economics" section entitled "A Contribution to the General Theory of Military and Economic Potential," which is, in my opinion, relevant to other areas as well. I would also recommend the work by Col M. Wasylko entitled "Mechanism for Assessing Processes in the Armed Forces."

April 1982 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 May 82 p 5

[Article by sza: "Thoughts on the Theory of Command"]

[Text] The need to improve troop command continually, dictated mainly by the improved combat capabilities of troops and the continuing search for and application of new methods of conducting operations (battles), makes it necessary to conduct systematic research on previous and new problems of command. Directed study and goal-oriented development of a theory of command is necessary

for working out a unified fairly comprehensive science of command that would enhance its qualities.

In the April issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA (4/1982), the problem of working out a theory of command is taken up by Col S. Piotrowski in his article "Notes to Thoughts on the Theory of Command."

Arguing that it is appropriate and even necessary to regard a scientific theory of command as an independent military discipline, the author takes up the question of the structure of the theory. In his opinion, this discipline should include the following chief specializations: theoretical bases of command and methodologies of command.

The first specialization is acknowledged as being the most important part of the command structure because it covers such subspecializations as methodological bases of the theory of command, and the essence, goals and substance of command and direction; the object, subject and methods of research; principles of command; and ideas on the scope of command.

The second specialization (the system of command) should cover areas such as: the methodologies for projecting and operating command systems; the properties of setting up and operating systems of command for each branch of the armed forces and their services and systems of coalitional cooperation.

The third specialization (technical means of command) should deal with the following subspecializations: methodologies for using technical command resources; classification, designation and capabilities of technical command resources and the possibilities and means for implementing them within the command process.

Methodological bases of command, as a fourth specialization, form one of the most important specializations in the structure of the command theory since they should examine and give practical suggestions on means and methods of command during battle (or an operation) and in peacetime. They should also show the most efficient and practical means by which commanders, structural teams and specific individuals within the command structure can perform their duties and conduct activities in combat or in their garrisons during peacetime. Of the other articles in the general military section, it is especially worth mentioning "Modern Weaponry and Its Influence Upon the Character of Combat Actions" (Brig Gen Cz. Dega); "Tactical Thinking" (Col R. Urlinski); "Some New Problems of Artillery Fire Supporting Attacks" (Cpt J. Peczkowski); and "New Trends in the Use of Mines" (Lt Col J. Garstka).

I would highly recommend the following articles from the "Economics" section: "Connections of Politics, Economics, and Defense to the Current Situation" (S. Ciaston); "Some Aspects of Materials Management in the Army" (Col K. Staniszewski) and "Standards as an Instrument of Progress in Improving the Quality of Products Manufactured for the Armed Forces" (Col J. Gadzicki).

The issue is concluded as usual with the "Military History" and "Allied Armies" sections, reviews and discussions.

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 9, Sep 82 pp 47-48

[Article: "Modern Weaponry and Its Effect on Combat"]

[Text] This article by Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega was printed in the 4/82 issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA. In his opening comments, the author states: "Following a period of fascination with nuclear weapons, the time has come to revise our somewhat unappreciative attitude toward the use of conventional weaponry. As we know, the power of these weapons has rapidly increased. There has now come a new stage in their development and in means of conducting war using conventional weaponry.... This has also shown itself in rather obvious trends in technological development, new types of weapons and military practice."

Further in the article, Czeslaw Dega presents the changes that have taken place in army technology and its outlook for the future. He writes about nuclear missiles, armor, antitank weaponry, indirect fire artillery, aircraft, engineering equipment, communications equipment and firearms.

In his section on nuclear missiles, he writes about the effects of arming troops with rockets with nuclear warheads and the resulting changes that have been made in combat theory and practice. The use of rockets makes it possible to inflict upon the enemy enormous losses and instantaneously change the ratio of forces. Nuclear weapons increase many times the range of action of tactical and operational formations. The main force for undertaking nuclear attacks upon the enemy is rocket troops. A recent innovation is equipping rockets with cassette-type conventional charges for attacking personnel and armor over large areas.

Despite the appearance of new forms of weaponry, the older types are not disappearing. They are also being dramatically improved to meet the demands of the contemporary battlefield.

With regard to armored weapons, it is felt that the number of tanks, armored transport vehicles and armored personnel carriers will increase and that these arms will remain the basic land strike forces in either a conventional war or a nuclear one. In recent years, the land forces have been reinforced with a large number of armored personnel carriers that are very useful in the field, for bridging water barriers while on the march and laying airways.

Since the land forces of all armies have been armed with nuclear weapons, the amount of indirect-fire artillery has been reduced. However, it is now felt that artillery, in coordination with aviation and rocketry, will also be able to play an important role. It has been equipped with more accurate and powerful ammunition, especially cassette ammunition, laser-guided rounds, rounds with rocket boosters, proximity fuses and air-combustion ammunition [bron paliwowo-powietrzna].

Gen Czeslaw Dega writes the following about an eventual war:

"The vision of a nuclear war with all of its irreversible consequences frightens all thinking people and even the most impassioned strategists in the West

are discussing fighting a war in Europe with conventional forces. However, it is too improbable that such a war could be fought since, in this context, any war in Europe could quickly escalate into global nuclear war. The effects of the first strike could determine the outcome of the entire operation. If nuclear weapons are to be used, both sides would probably suffer enormous losses. The armies would find themselves in a destroyed, deformed landscape, surrounded with fires and devastation. Because of the effect of nuclear weapons upon radioelectronic devices, it would be very hard to maintain communications and command control and troop coordination would be hindered.

"We must also foresee the use of radiating weaponry capable of neutralizing strategic aviation, rockets, missiles and neutron bombs and even, in the distant future, the possibility of weapons of annihilation thousands of times more powerful than our nuclear weapons."

At the conclusion of his article, the author formulates a series of conclusions. More of this can be read in MYSLA WOJSKOWA No 4/82 in Czeslaw Dega's article entitled "Modern Weaponry and Its Effects on Combat."

#### The History of Chemical Warfare Troops

In the same issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA, Lt Col Ireneusz Nowak writes about the development of chemical warfare troops. Such troops were a part of the armed forces of nearly all of the nations that fought in World War II. Their tasks were to spot contaminated areas, to conduct barrages against the enemy, create smoke screens, provide chemical equipment and protective equipment. The chemical troops of the anti-Hitler coalition were also ready to conduct sanitary treatment and to decontaminate and deactivate combat equipment, uniforms and terrain. Throughout all of World War II, Nazi Germany kept poisonous substances ready for use.

The United States and Great Britain, in cooperation with one another, produced chemical weapons. The American-British cooperation covered:

- improvement of chemical munitions;
- study of chemical compounds analogous to existing poisons;
- research on various toxins.

During the war, these countries set up new facilities for the production of poisonous substances as well as research centers. At the end of the war, Great Britain had 35,000 tons of chemical munitions and the United States had 135,000 tons.

The Soviet Union was also prepared for the Germans to use poison gases. When in July 1941 Soviet troops destroyed a German battalion at Pskov, there were found among this battalion's documents instructions on the use of chemical warfare weapons and the secret password "Indantren," the command to use these weapons. The Germans kept chemical warfare munitions dumps on Soviet territory (one of which was at Baranovichi). The Soviet command foresaw the possibility of the

enemy initiating chemical warfare. It therefore became very important to keep troops in constant readiness to defend themselves against chemical attack. Each Soviet army thus had an independent chemical battalion as well as a chemical barrage company. Corps and divisions had independent chemical warfare companies and regiments, a platoon. Battalions in all services had chemical instructors and the staffs of armies and fronts contained a section subordinate to the chief of chemical services.

Ireneusz Nowak also traces the development of the chemical warfare forces of the Polish People's Army. His article is titled "An Outline of the Development of Chemical Warfare Troops."

May 1982 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 11 Nov 82 p 47

[Article: "Political and Military Factors and International Economic Relations"]

[Text] An important element in the economy of every state is foreign economic cooperation. The more developed the economy, the greater the given country's participation in the international division of labor. Because of this, a highly developed nation has an opportunity to expand its markets, increase its production and develop its technology. Natural conditions and thus the geographical environment, natural resources and population have a primary influence on a nation's participation in the international division of labor. Maintaining lively contact with other countries makes it possible to make proper use of means of production, work forces and raw materials and thus benefits the economy.

However, the development of trade economic relations is determined not only by economics. No less important are military and political factors that are capable of either aiding or hindering this development. In MYSL WOJSKOWA No 5, Col Marian Daniluk writes about these matters in an article entitled "The Influence of Political and Military Factors on International Economic Relations." "The world political and military situation," writes Marian Daniluk, "determines the global conditions for development of international cooperation and trade. This is seen when, in a period of political and military tension, international trade is weakened, while during periods in which the tensions relax, trade grows again." To prove this, the author has included in his article a table that gives figures showing the dynamics of world trade.

The article contains a discussion of the structure of world economic relations and their political and military aspects, economic relations between the socialist and capitalist states, the problem of international arms trade and the elements of economic warfare.

The bases determining the structure of the world's economic relations are:

--the level of industrialization of the nations of the world;

--political communities and allegiances to economic systems;

--concerns of national security.

Marian Daniluk discusses in detail the economic relations between the East and West during the whole postwar period, their instability and great sensitivity to political factors. According to the article, "due to lasting political and military conditions, the opportunities that could come from economic cooperation between the industrialized capitalist countries and the socialist states have been little used. This has limited the economic development of both groups of nations. In many areas, especially in those concerning national defense, there has generally been no economic, scientific or technical cooperation. One of the main checks to this has been the restrictions posed by the so-called strategic embargo. The policy of strategic embargo continues to be flexibly used. In spite of the fact that the list of products prohibited for export to socialist countries has been revised many times, it is constantly used as a response to the political and military situation. It is very often enforced relative to advanced equipment with military applications but may also cover such goods as grain, fats, etc." Another important factor of international economic relations is the arms trade, even though it is subject to extensive restrictions. The weapons trade is the result of the structure of political and military forces in the world. It entails:

--the government-authorized sale of weapons according to general principles of foreign trade with the authorization of government organs. There are two types of weapons sales--cash and credit. Agreements on weapons exports may cover current production, future production, weapons held in reserve, and also the standard weapons with which armed forces are equipped;

--the sale of licenses to produce arms, licenses agreements for supply of production equipment, specialists, materials and technical assistance for starting production;

--joint efforts to develop new types of weaponry and arms production in cooperation with the nations involved;

--supplying arms to other nations as free or paid military aid;

--agreements to lease arms for partial payment or for free, generally during a war;

--agreements to provide military training and technical assistance on imported arms concluded with the nation supplying arms.

The arms trade increases during periods of global political tension and is weakened during periods of relaxation.

In the section of the article that covers the elements of economic war, the author defines it as a set of activities aimed at weakening the economic and defensive potential of a country or a group of countries (of an actual or potential enemy).

These actions are supposed to hinder the development of strategically important areas of the national economy, create economic distortions, constrict supplies of raw materials and materials, and make it difficult to gain access to new discoveries and technologies that are applicable to defense needs.

The economic war may be conducted directly and radically as well as by more indirect and inobvious methods. The radical methods are military blockade and the destruction of the enemy economy during war. In times of peace, indirect methods are used, including administrative, economic, diplomatic and military measures and economic intelligence. Administrative measures consist of prohibitions on the export of strategically valuable products, such as fission materials or lines of arms-production technology, and the economic embargo of certain nations. Economic measures involve protectionist policies applied against nations not engaged in a military alliance, respective customs and credit policies, technical assistance and the dissolution of agreements made with other nations.

Readers will find discussion of other methods used in economic warfare and other interesting information in Marian Daniluk's article in MYSL WOJSKOWA No 5/82.

12261

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## ROMANIA

### DEATH SENTENCE FOR ROBBERS

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 November 1983 page 2 reports that members of a band of criminals have been terrorizing the residents of Constanta County, committing robberies and burglaries in private residences and enterprises, robbing and assaulting citizens in their homes and on the street. Some of the perpetrators of the crimes wore militia uniforms. Clues left at the scene of the crimes and the "work style" of the criminals indicated that the crimes were committed by the same people. The wide-ranging investigations led to the arrest of one of the ringleaders and, one by one, of 10 more members of the band. The criminals had their own network of informers who supplied them with the information needed for the break-ins. They had a car for traveling to the site and for transporting the stolen goods, special tools, and fake militia uniforms. The majority of them were "repeaters, aggressive and parasitic elements, who represented a serious social danger." Aurelian Pircalabescu, from Techirghiol, one of the ringleaders, charged with 31 offenses, was sentenced to death. Viorel Boceanu, from Topraisier, another ringleader, charged with 33 offenses, "including the very serious offense of damage to public property," was also sentenced to death. Gheorghe Mircica was sentenced to 22 years in prison; Ion Suta, to 14 years and 7 months; Florea Suta, to 13 years; Nicolae Dima, to 8 years; Fanel Stoican, to 5 years; Vasile Marica, to 3 years; Stefan Encica, to 2 years and 6 months; Stefan Racea, to 1 year and 8 months and Anton Chelba, to 1 year in prison. The appeals of the defendants were denied by the Supreme Tribunal and the sentences remain final.

CSO: 2700/96

## ROLE OF SFRY ASSEMBLY FEDERAL CHAMBER QUESTIONED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 83 pp 12-13

[Article by Milivoje Tomasevic: "Should the Federal Chamber Be Abolished?"]

[Excerpt] After the 2-day debate of realization of joint interest in the Federation through the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly (organized by the Edvard Kardelj Yugoslav Center for Theory and Practice of Self-Management) and the extensive analyses made in advance, there can no longer be any doubt--the Federal Chamber is not performing its extremely important role to the fullest. This is having serious adverse consequences for the functioning of the entire assembly system and political system, especially in realizing joint interest in the Federation.

None of those present at this meeting, and they included delegates in the Chamber as well as competent sociopolitical figures and scholars, contested in a closely argued way the estimates contained in the introductory exposition by the chairman of the Chamber Aslan Fazlija or the analyses of the working group of delegates. Yet those assessments were quite explicit: "In the period just past the Federal Chamber has not adequately realized those (joint) interests within the realm of its constitutional functions, rights and duties" (A. Fazlija), nor "by and large has the constitutional conception of the Federal Chamber been realized" (from the analysis of achievement of joint interests in the Federation through the SFRY Assembly).

## Confederational Tendencies

The fact that the Chamber is not operating as conceived has led some to conclude that it simply should be abolished. Although it was not made altogether clear in the debate referred to who is advocating such ideas and to whom in that case the present functions of the Federal Chamber would be entrusted, this burden was present from the very outset. Both introductory expositions contained the explicit warning: "No issue can be made of the purposefulness of the functioning of the Federal Chamber," "assessments to the effect that the Federal Chamber has not performed its constitutional role at all and that it is absolutely necessary to find some other solution (are) nihilistic" (Aslan Fazlija) and "it is our unanimous belief that the Chamber is indispensable in realizing our federal concept" (Ela Ulrih Atena, leader of the working group which conducted the analysis).

Since the view already exists in political life that people have no interests which they cannot realize within their own nationality (and the nationality is equated with the republic or province), it is easy to suppose that the powers of the Federal Chamber would also "evolve" into a subject of agreement among the republics and provinces.

When we realized that the Federal Chamber is supposed to "guarantee the uniform foundations of the political system and the production relations of socialist self-management in the SFRY," then it is clear that abolishing it, given the present tendencies, would not contribute to greater independence of the republics and provinces and greater equality of the nationalities, since the Chamber does not even affect independence and equality, but it could be a step toward a system which has more of the earmarks of confederation and fewer of a federal community of fraternal nationalities. After all, if everything, even defense of the country or the political system should be placed in the exclusive jurisdiction of the republics and provinces and left to agreement [among them] (an arrangement whose shortcomings are evident: an agreement is slow in coming, and then it is often violated), this could bring more harm than good.

#### Basic Questions

If the Federal Chamber had successfully performed its constitutional functions up to this point, there probably would not have been proposals of this and similar kind. Which is why we will attempt, instead of guessing what will happen, to at least indicate the possible answers as to why the Federal Chamber is not playing the role envisaged for it.

There are several questions to which precise answers need to be found. Probably the following deserve the greatest attention: Which duties has the Federal Chamber performed successfully over the last 10 years and which has it not; what has stood in the Chamber's way from working more successfully; what are the consequences of its work to this point, which has not always been successful; what should be changed and corrected in the way it is set up and the way it operates so that the Federal Chamber would perform more successfully the role intended for it in the constitution?...

These questions unfortunately did not dominate the 2-day debate we have mentioned; emphasis was put on realizing joint interests in the Federation through the work of this Chamber, and that allowed the discussion to cover a very broad range of different questions in the political system.

Thus escaping in part the focus of interest, the Federal Chamber--something, that is, that could (and should) be debated quite specifically--and with attention diverted to those (joint) interests, a more thorough scientific and political elucidation of the position, role and activity of the Federal Chamber was cut short. This is all the stranger when we bear in mind the ideas we have mentioned about abolishing the Chamber. Nevertheless, quite a bit of information was furnished in the debate and analysis for one to be able to suspect the answers to these (specific) questions.

## How Has the Chamber Been Operating

Still, it would be worthwhile first of all to offer a few figures on the Chamber itself: It is made up of 30 delegates from each republic and 20 from each autonomous province. The delegates are elected by the opstina assemblies by secret ballot, from among a list of candidates nominated in the well-known procedure. The Chamber adopts decisions by a majority of votes (except concerning matters of general interest to a republic or province and to equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities) concerning extremely important matters in domestic and foreign policy.

The Chamber also has the formal conditions for being a "instrument of class rule," since a majority of its delegates must be from associated labor. Its composition in the first convocation was as follows: 55 percent of the delegates from associated labor, 10 percent from local communities and 35 percent from sociopolitical organizations. This distribution in this (the third) convocation is just a bit different: 55 percent of the delegates are from associated labor, 15.4 percent from local communities and 29.6 percent from sociopolitical organizations.

In the analysis on realization of joint interests in the Federation through the SFRY Assembly it was judged that the Federal Chamber "is not as a practical matter influencing the policy and acts of socioeconomic development, nor achievement of the unified Yugoslav market or other matters of vital interest to associated labor." The explanation of this judgment stated among other things that the Chamber of Republics and Provinces "influences the policy and decisions of this (the Federal) Chamber ... since it enters into the material side of the relationship, sets the deadlines and defines the issues on which decisions are to be made in the Federal Chamber."

## Why Is It Not Operating More Successfully?

Nor "is the synthesis between joint and special self-management interests arising out of the various forms of self-management organization of the working people represented by the delegates being appropriately achieved in the Federal Chamber, so that the classic representative forms of work and decisionmaking in the Federal Chamber are increasingly dominant."

Boro Petkovski said of these assessments that they were not sufficiently supported with argument, but he himself did not offer sufficiently strong counterarguments. Certain other participants in the debate also spoke similarly about how this or that point was not valid, that the statement was too severe, or that it was not accurate, so that it was left to the newsman to judge on the basis of the opinion of the majority and certain facts which were not difficult to obtain by observing everyday practice.

It is well known that there are differing opinions about what areas of legislation lie in the power of the Federation and what the republics and provinces should settle independently, and this is especially true with respect to regulating sociopolitical relations and the foundations of the political system. Views here often go to the extremes of either overstepping the

powers of the Federation or of not guaranteeing the indispensable unity of the system.

It has also been noticeable that in certain laws (especially those constituting "intervention") and sublegal and other regulations solutions have been offered contrary to the laws in effect embodying the system and indeed those enacted by the Federal Chamber. Certain laws have as a practical matter been vacated in this way, and one of the principal instruments for regulating the unified political and economic system in Yugoslavia has been blasted out of the hands of the Federal Chamber.

There is no need to go on citing similar situations and examples on this occasion, since what we have already said can give an idea of how the Federal Chamber has been performing its duties and of what kind of obstacles it has encountered in so doing. It has also suggested an answer to the question of why the Federal Chamber has not been working more successfully, why it has not been consistently performing the role intended for it in the constitution. Here are a few more "details" so that we might round out that answer to some extent.

The work of the Federal Chamber "is characterized by insufficient linkage with the delegate base in its work and decisionmaking, which makes it impossible in this Chamber to arrive at fuller expression of the authentic interests of the working class and of the working people and citizens organized through self-management." (Aslan Fazlija)

"The delegates from the various republics and autonomous provinces occasionally meet to exchange opinions and for purposes of working agreements, and indeed even for the purpose of commitments on particular matters ... this method of operation has already to a certain extent become institutionalized, tending in the direction of the practice in the work of the delegations in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces (from the analysis).

"We have not developed appropriate forms and methods of linking the delegations and delegates.... The initiative of the Federal Executive Council and of federal administrative agencies is dominant, if not monopolistic, in programming its work.... The organizational mechanisms and methods of work have not yet been realized whereby the Federal Chamber would be linked in its work to the delegate base and to the entire social structure...." (Ela Ulrih Atena)

It was also stated in the debate that the standing working bodies of the Chamber (committees) are to a certain extent equated with their respective areas of competence, that policy oversight of the work of the Federal Executive Council and administrative agencies is not appropriately exercised, but mainly comes down to examination of reports, advisories and analyses, etc.

These, then are some of the reasons why the Federal Chamber has not been performing its role satisfactorily. Zvonko Spoljar is also certainly right when he says that it is difficult "at the level of the Federation to execute delegate relations that would function identically to those, say, of the opstina

assembly ..." since, according to data for 1978, there are 66,303 delegations in Yugoslavia (and that does not include Vojvodina). It is clear to everyone that there is no way that the 220 delegates in the Federal Chamber, who in addition to their responsibilities as delegates usually also have a multitude of work duties and other obligations, can maintain constant contact with that large a number.

[Box, p 12, top]

Milan Kucan: What We Ought To Do

It is not possible for one chamber to express the interests of the nationalities, and the other to express the joint interests of all the parts of the self-management structure of society. It is not possible for one chamber to be more self-management oriented, and the other statist, nor can the dominant position of associated labor and other self-managing organizations and communities be ensured by just one chamber. The unity of the class aspect and the nationality aspect is not expressed by dividing the chambers into a self-management chamber expressing the joint interests of associated labor and a non-self-management chamber, that is, statist chamber, which expresses the specific interests of the national state, and that obviously outside the uniform production relations and the uniform foundations of the political system.

That kind of division, should we consent to it, neglects, first, the fact that the delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces are also an expression of the interests of associated labor and of other self-managing communities within the republics and provinces, that, then, their delegate base and accordingly the interests which they express are the same.

Second, that they are delegations and delegates of assemblies which are above all a body of social self-management and not only the supreme bodies of government within the limits of the rights and responsibilities of the republics and provinces.

Third, that the republics and provinces are also self-managing communities and not only sociopolitical communities.

In my opinion the thesis cannot be accepted that the Federal Chamber is, or should be, the self-managing chamber, the chamber of associated labor, the chamber for the self-management integration of associated labor and the self-management integration of the Yugoslav community, while the Chamber of Republics and Provinces does not have that attribute. This, then, would mean that this latter chamber, within the limits of its rights and obligations, should not guarantee the class rule of the working class and should not strive for integration of Yugoslav society on the foundations of self-management.

In reflecting what we should do we dare not forget the truth that the working class of every nationality must take power within its own nationality in order to confirm itself as the leading force in society, that is, it must institute itself as a national class within its own nationality, and that means that within its own nationality, within its own republic and province, it

must win a place which makes it possible for associated labor to make decisions on the surplus value of labor, on income, and on the handling of general social affairs. It is not possible for the working class of any nationality or ethnic minority to expect or to demand that its liberation be realized in some structure outside or above the nationality, for its leading position in society, that is, within its own nationality, to be expressed within that structure, while within its own nationality the bureaucracy continues to rule in performing the functions of the owner of the resources of society.

Excerpt from transcript of tape recording  
not edited by the speaker

[Box, p 12, bottom]

Zdravko Tomac: What Is Yugoslavia

It is very important that we debate the question of what Yugoslavia is? and do so in political terms.... I believe that there are many ideological misunderstandings and a one-sided interpretation of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is often reduced to the bodies and agencies of the Federation, but under the constitution there are the bodies of the Federation--the more narrow concept--in which the republics and provinces reach agreement, and I think that we dare not touch that republic-province principle, nor call it into question, that we must oppose every attempt to violate the equality of the nationalities; here Yugoslavia is expressed primarily as a state community, as a place for agreement, accord, equality and everything written down in the constitution.

However, under the constitution Yugoslavia is at the same time a self-managing socialist democratic community, and that is essential, since the former conception of Yugoslavia will itself be deformed unless there is self-managing direct linkage of associated labor, unless we create Yugoslav associated labor without an intermediary. There has been a great deal of talk to the effect that associated labor exists within the framework of the republics and provinces. I think that this is the main problem: that in practice we have associated labor of the opstina, of the region, of the province, of the republic, but we do not have a Yugoslav associated labor. The primary reason for the deformations that arise and the stagnation of self-management are the lack of self-management integration, the fact that Yugoslav associated labor has not been created. After all, this class interest of the workers is unified in the sense that it is in the interest of the workers to break down all borders and all boundaries, to enter into association across all territorial limits.

... In spite of the territorial organization, we must see a way of preventing that territorial organization from becoming so dominant that it impedes that associated labor and encloses it within those territorial communities....

Excerpt from transcript of tape recording  
not edited by the speaker

[Box, p 13]

#### Powers of the Federal Chamber

The Federal Chamber shall decide on amendment of the SFRY Constitution; shall set forth the bases of domestic policy and foreign policy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; shall adopt federal laws except the federal laws adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces; shall furnish authentic interpretation of the federal laws which it enacts; shall set forth the policy governing enforcement of federal laws and other regulations and general acts which it adopts, as well as the obligations of federal bodies and agencies related to the enforcement of those regulations and acts; shall adopt the federal budget and year-end financial statement of the Federation; shall decide on changes of the borders of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia; shall decide on war and peace; shall ratify international treaties on political and military cooperation and international treaties which require adoption of new or amendment of existing laws which it enacts; shall set forth the bases of the organization of federal agencies and their jurisdiction; shall debate within its jurisdiction the reports of the Federal Executive Council and federal administrative agencies, shall exercise policy oversight over the work of all bodies and agencies and shall guide their work by issuing its own guidelines; shall debate the opinions and proposals of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia concerning protection of constitutionality and legality before that court; shall debate reports of the Federal Court and federal public prosecutor's office on the enforcement of federal laws, on the general problems of jurisprudence, and on the work of the Federal Court and federal public prosecutor's office; shall debate the reports, opinions and proposals of the federal public defender of self-management law; shall grant amnesty for crimes as designated by federal law; shall verify elections and shall decide on questions of certification and immunity of delegates in the Chamber; shall adopt an operating procedure governing its work; and shall also conduct other business within the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly which is not in the competency of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces or which it conducts on an equal footing with that Chamber.

Excerpt from the SFRY Constitution

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